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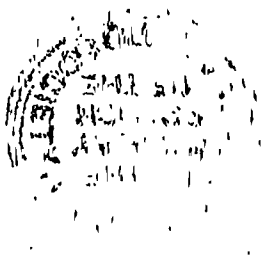
HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF PERU.

VOL. II.



Joseph Brown sc.

PEDRO DE LA GASCA,

President of the Royal Audience of Peru

FROM THE PORTRAIT IN THE SACRISTY OF THE SANTA MARIA MAGDALENA

AT VALLADOLID.

London: Richard Bentley, 1847.

HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF PERU,

WITH A PRELIMINARY VIEW

OF

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE INCAS.

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BY

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE FRENCH INSTITUTE; OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF BERLIN; OF NAPLES; OF HISTORY AT MADRID, ETC.

VV.C.20

"Congestæ cumulantur opes, orbisque rapinas
Accipit."

CLAUDIAN, In Ruf., lib. i., v. 194.

"So color de religion
Van a buscar plata y oro
Del encubierto tesoro."

LOPE DE VEGA, El Nuevo Mundo, Jorn. 1.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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CONQUEST OF PERU.

BOOK III.

CONQUEST OF PERU.

(CONTINUED.)

FAC-SIMILE OF TWO SIGNATURES OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

In the above signatures the **name** *is subscribed by Pizarro's Secretary, the* **rubrica** *or flourish at the ends of the name, being the only part made by himself; as he did not know how to write. The second signature* **El marq Pizarro** *was used by him after his elevation to the rank of* **Marquess**.

Engraved for Prescott's History of the Conquest of Peru

London Published by Richard Bentley, 8 New Burlington St. 1847.

CHAPTER IX.

New Inca crowned.—Municipal Regulations.—Terrible March of Alvarado.—Interview with Pizarro.—Foundation of Lima.—Hernando Pizarro reaches Spain.—Sensation at Court.—Feuds of Almagro and the Pizarros.

1534, 1535.

THE first care of the Spanish general, after the division of the booty, was to place Manco on the throne, and to obtain for him the recognition of his countrymen. He, accordingly, presented the young prince to them as their future sovereign, the legitimate son of Huayna Capac, and the true heir of the Peruvian sceptre. The annunciation was received with enthusiasm by the people attached to the memory of his illustrious father, and pleased that they were still to have a monarch rule over them of the ancient line of Cuzco.

Every thing was done to maintain the illusion with the Indian population. The ceremonies of a coronation were studiously observed. The young prince kept the prescribed fasts and vigils; and on the appointed day the nobles and the people with the whole Spanish soldiery assembled in the great square of Cuzco to witness the concluding ceremony. Mass was publicly performed by Father Valverde, and the Inca Manco received the fringed diadem of Peru, not from the

hand of the high priest of his nation, but from his Conqueror, Pizarro. The Indian lords then tendered their obeisance in the customary form; after which the royal notary read aloud the instrument asserting the supremacy of the Castilian Crown, and requiring the homage of all present to its authority. This address was explained by an interpreter, and the ceremony of homage was performed by each one of the parties waving the royal banner of Castile twice or thrice with his hands. Manco then pledged the Spanish commander in a golden goblet of the sparkling *chica*; and, the latter having cordially embraced the new monarch, the trumpets announced the conclusion of the ceremony.* But it was not the note of triumph, but of humiliation; for it proclaimed that the armed foot of the stranger was in the halls of the Peruvian Incas; that the ceremony of coronation was a miserable pageant; that their prince himself was but a puppet in the hands of his Conqueror; and that the glory of the Children of the Sun had departed for ever!

Yet the people readily gave in to the illusion, and seemed willing to accept this image of their ancient independence. The accession of the young monarch was greeted by all the usual *fêtes* and rejoicings. The mummies of his royal ancestors, with such ornaments as were still left to them, were paraded in the great square. They were attended each by his own numerous retinue, who performed all the menial offices, as if the object of them were alive and could feel their import. Each ghostly form took its seat at the banquet-table — now, alas! stripped of the magnificent

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 407.

service with which it was wont to blaze at these high festivals—and the guests drank deep to the illustrious dead. Dancing succeeded the carousal, and the festivities, prolonged to a late hour, were continued night after night by the giddy population, as if their conquerors had not been intrenched in the capital!* —What a contrast to the Aztecs in the conquest of Mexico!

Pizarro's next concern was to organize a municipal government for Cuzco like those in the cities of the parent country. Two *alcaldes* were appointed, and eight *regidores*, among which last functionaries were his brothers Gonzalo and Juan. The oaths of office were administered with great solemnity, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1534, in presence both of Spaniards and Peruvians in the public square; as if the general were willing by this ceremony to intimate to the latter, that, while they retained the semblance of their ancient institutions the real power was henceforth vested in their conquerors.† He invited Spaniards to settle in the place by liberal grants of land and houses, for which means were afforded by the numerous palaces and public buildings of the Incas; and many a cava-

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

"Luego por la mañana iba al enterramiento donde estaban cada uno por orden embalsamados como es dicho, y asentados en sus sillas, y con mucha veneracion y respeto, todos por orden los sacaban de alli y los trahian á la ciudad, teniendo cada uno su litera, y hombres con su librea, que le trujesen, y ansi desta manera todo el servicio y aderezos como si estubiera vivo." Relacion del Primer. Descub., MS.

† Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 409.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1534. —Actto de la fundacion del Cuzco, MS.

This instrument, which belongs to the collection of Muñoz, records not only the names of the magistrates, but of the *vecinos* who formed the first population of the *Christian* capital.

lier who had been too poor in his own country to find a place to rest in, now saw himself the proprietor of a spacious mansion that might have entertained the retinue of a prince.* From this time, says an old chronicler, Pizarro, who had hitherto been distinguished by his military title of "Captain-General," was addressed by that of "Governor."† Both had been bestowed on him by the royal grant.

Nor did the chief neglect the interests of religion. Father Valverde, whose nomination as Bishop of Cuzco not long afterwards received the Papal sanction, prepared to enter on the duties of his office. A place was selected for the cathedral of his diocese facing the *plaza*. A spacious monastery subsequently rose on the ruins of the gorgeous House of the Sun; its walls were constructed of the ancient stones; the altar was raised on the spot where shone the bright image of the Peruvian deity, and the cloisters of the Indian temple were trodden by the friars of St. Dominic.‡ To make the metamorphosis more complete the House of the Virgins of the Sun was replaced by a Roman Catholic nunnery.§ Christian churches and monasteries gra-

* Actto de la fundacion del Cuzco, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte i. lib. vii. cap. ix., et seq.

When a building was of immense size, as happened with some of the temples and palaces, it was assigned to two or even three of the Conquerors, who each took his share of it. Garcilasso, who describes the city as it was soon after the Conquest, commemorates with sufficient prolixity the names of the cavaliers among whom the buildings were distributed.

† Montesinos, Annales, año 1534.

‡ Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte i. lib. iii. cap. xx.; lib. vi. cap. xxi.—Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.

§ Ulloa, Voyage to S. America, book ii. ch. xii.

"The Indian nuns," says the

dually supplanted the ancient edifices, and such of the latter as were suffered to remain despoiled of their heathen insignia were placed under the protection of the Cross.

The Fathers of St. Dominic, the Brethren of the Order of Mercy, and other missionaries, now busied themselves in the good work of conversion. We have seen that Pizarro was required by the Crown to bring out a certain number of these holy men in his own vessels; and every succeeding vessel brought an additional reinforcement of ecclesiastics. They were not all like the Bishop of Cuzco, with hearts so seared by fanaticism as to be closed against sympathy with the unfortunate natives.* They were, many of them, men of singular humility, who followed in the tract of the conqueror to scatter the seeds of spiritual truth, and, with disinterested zeal devoted themselves to the propagation of the Gospel. Thus did their pious labours prove them the true soldiers of the Cross, and showed that the object so ostentatiously avowed of carrying its

author of the Relacion del Primer. Descub., "lived chastely and in a holy manner."—"Their chastity was all a feint," says Pedro Pizarro, "for they had constant amours with the attendants on the temple." (Descub. y Conq., MS.) —What is truth?—In statements so contradictory, we may accept the most favourable to the Peruvian. The prejudices of the Conquerors certainly did not lie on that side.

* Such, however, it is but fair to Valverde to state, is not the language applied to him by the rude soldiers of the Conquest. The municipality of Xauxa, in a communication to the Court, extol the Dominican as an exemplary and learned divine, who had afforded much serviceable consolation to his countrymen. "Es persona de mucho exemplo i doctrina i con quien todos los Espaſioles an tenido mucho consuelo." (Carta de la Just. y Reg. de Xauxa, MS.) And yet this is not incompatible with a high degree of insensibility to the natural rights of the natives.

banner among the heathen nations was not an empty vaunt.

The effort to Christianise the heathen is an honourable characteristic of the Spanish conquests. The Puritan, with equal religious zeal, did comparatively little for the conversion of the Indian, content, as it would seem, with having secured to himself the inestimable privilege of worshipping God in his own way. Other adventurers who have occupied the New World have often had too little regard for religion themselves to be very solicitous about spreading it among the savages. But the Spanish missionary from first to last has shown a keen interest in the spiritual welfare of the natives. Under his auspices churches on a magnificent scale have been erected, schools for elementary instruction founded, and every rational means taken to spread the knowledge of religious truth, while he has carried his solitary mission into remote and almost inaccessible regions, or gathered his Indian disciples into communities, like the good Las Casas in Cumaná, or the Jesuits in California and Paraguay. At all times, the courageous ecclesiastic has been ready to lift his voice against the cruelty of the conqueror, and the no less wasting cupidity of the colonist; and when his remonstrances, as was too often the case, have proved unavailing, he has still followed to bind up the broken-hearted, to teach the poor Indian resignation under his lot, and light up his dark intellect with the revelation of a holier and happier existence. —In reviewing the blood-stained records of Spanish colonial history, it is but fair, and at the same time cheering to reflect, that the same nation which sent forth the hard-hearted conqueror from its bosom sent

forth the missionary to do the work of beneficence, and spread the light of Christian civilization over the farthest regions of the New World.

While the governor, as we were henceforth to style him, lay at Cuzco, he received repeated accounts of a considerable force in the neighbourhood, under the command of Atahuallpa's officer, Quizquiz. He accordingly detached Almagro, with a small body of horse and a large Indian force under the Inca Manco, to disperse the enemy, and, if possible, to capture their leader. Manco was the more ready to take part in the expedition, as the enemy were soldiers of Quito, who, with their commander, bore no good-will to himself.

Almagro, moving with his characteristic rapidity, was not long in coming up with the Indian chieftain. Several sharp encounters followed, as the army of Quito fell back on Xauxa, near which a general engagement decided the fate of the war by the total discomfiture of the natives. Quizquiz fled to the elevated plains of Quito, where he still held out with undaunted spirit against a Spanish force in that quarter, till at length his own soldiers, wearied by these long and ineffectual hostilities, massacred their commander in cold blood.* Thus fell the last of the two great officers of Atahuallpa, who, if their nation had been animated by a spirit equal to their own, might long have successfully maintained their soil against the invader.

Some time before this occurrence, the Spanish gover-

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. viii. cap. xx.—Ped. Sancho, Rel., ap. Ramusio, tom. iii. fol. 408. —Relacion del Primer. Descub., MS.

nor, while in Cuzco, received tidings of an event much more alarming to him than any Indian hostilities. This was the arrival on the coast of a strong Spanish force, under the command of Don Pedro de Alvarado, the gallant officer who had served under Cortés with such renown in the war of Mexico. That cavalier, after forming a brilliant alliance in Spain, to which he was entitled by his birth and military rank, had returned to his government of Guatemala, where his avarice had been roused by the magnificent reports he daily received of Pizarro's conquests. These conquests, he learned, had been confined to Peru; while the northern kingdom of Quito, the ancient residence of Atahuallpa, and, no doubt, the principal depository of his treasures, yet remained untouched. Affecting to consider this country as falling without the governor's jurisdiction, he immediately turned a large fleet, which he had intended for the Spice Islands, in the direction of South America; and in March, 1534, he landed in the bay of Caraques, with five hundred followers, of whom half were mounted, and all admirably provided with arms and ammunition. It was the best equipped and most formidable array that had yet appeared in the southern seas.*

Although manifestly an invasion of the territory conceded to Pizarro by the Crown, the reckless cavalier determined to march at once on Quito. With the assistance of an Indian guide, he proposed to take the direct route across the mountains, a passage

* The number is variously reported by historians. But from a legal investigation made in Guatemala, it appears that the whole force amounted to 500, of which 230 were cavalry.—Informacion echa en Santiago, Set. 15, 1536, MS.

of exceeding difficulty, even at the most favourable season.

After crossing the Rio Dable, Alvarado's guide deserted him, so that he was soon entangled in the intricate mazes of the sierra; and, as he rose higher and higher into the regions of winter, he became surrounded with ice and snow, for which his men, taken from the warm countries of Guatemala, were but ill prepared. As the cold grew more intense, many of them were so benumbed, that it was with difficulty they could proceed. The infantry, compelled to make exertions, fared best. Many of the troopers were frozen stiff in their saddles. The Indians, still more sensible to the cold, perished by hundreds. As the Spaniards huddled round their wretched bivouacs, with such scanty fuel as they could glean, and almost without food, they waited in gloomy silence the approach of morning. Yet the morning light, which gleamed coldly on the cheerless waste, brought no joy to them. It only revealed more clearly the extent of their wretchedness. Still struggling on through the winding Puertos Nevados, or Snowy Passes, their track was dismally marked by fragments of dress, broken harness, golden ornaments, and other valuables plundered on their march,—by the dead bodies of men, or by those less fortunate, who were left to die alone in the wilderness. As for the horses, their carcasses were not suffered long to cumber the ground, as they were quickly seized and devoured half raw by the starving soldiers, who, like the famished condors, now hovering in troops above their heads, greedily banqueted on the most offensive offal to satisfy the gnawings of hunger.

Alvarado, anxious to secure the booty which had fallen into his hands at an earlier part of his march, encouraged every man to take what gold he wanted from the common heap, reserving only the royal fifth. But they only answered, with a ghastly smile of derision, "that food was the only gold for them." Yet in this extremity, which might seem to have dissolved the very ties of nature, there are some affecting instances recorded of self-devotion; of comrades who lost their lives in assisting others, and of parents and husbands (for some of the cavaliers were accompanied by their wives) who, instead of seeking their own safety, chose to remain and perish in the snows with the objects of their love.

To add to their distress, the air was filled for several days with thick clouds of earthy particles and cinders, which blinded the men, and made respiration exceedingly difficult.* This phenomenon, it seems probable, was caused by an eruption of the distant Cotopaxi, which, about twelve leagues south-east of Quito, rears up its colossal and perfectly symmetrical cone far above the limits of eternal snow,—the most beautiful and the most terrible of the American volcanoes.† At the time of Alvarado's expedition, it was in a state of eruption, the earliest instance of the kind on re-

* "It began to rain earthy particles from the heavens," says Oviedo, "that blinded the men and horses, so that the trees and bushes were full of dirt." Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. viii. cap. xx.

† Garcilasso says the shower of ashes came from the "volcano of Quito." (Com. Real, parte ii. lib. ii. cap. ii.) Cieza de Leon only says from one of the volcanoes in that region. (Cronica, cap. xli.) Neither of them specify the name. Humboldt accepts the common opinion, that Cotopaxi was intended. Researches, i. 123.

cord, though doubtless not the earliest.* Since that period, it has been in frequent commotion, sending up its sheets of flame to the height of half a mile, spouting forth cataracts of lava that have overwhelmed towns and villages in their career, and shaking the earth with subterraneous thunders, that, at the distance of more than a hundred leagues, sounded like the reports of artillery!† Alvarado's followers, unacquainted with the cause of the phenomenon, as they wandered over tracts buried in snow,—the sight of which was strange to them,—in an atmosphere laden with ashes, became bewildered by this confusion of the elements, which Nature seemed to have contrived purposely for their destruction. Some of these men were the soldiers of Cortés, steeled by many a painful march, and many a sharp encounter with the Aztecs. But this war of the elements, they now confessed, was mightier than all.

At length, Alvarado, after sufferings which even the most hardy probably could have endured but a few days longer, emerged from the Snowy Pass, and came on the elevated table-land, which spreads out, at the height of more than nine thousand feet above the ocean, in the neighbourhood of Riobamba. But one-fourth of his gallant army had been left to feed the

* A popular tradition among the natives states, that a large fragment of porphyry near the base of the cone was thrown out in an eruption, which occurred at the moment of Atahuallpa's death. —But such tradition will hardly pass for history.

† A minute account of this formidable mountain is given by M. de Humboldt, (Researches, i. 118, et seq.,) and more circumstantially by Condamine. (Voyage à l'Equateur, pp. 48—56, 156—160.) The latter philosopher would have attempted to scale the almost perpendicular walls of the volcano, but no one was hardy enough to second him.

condor in the wilderness, besides the greater part, at least two thousand, of his Indian auxiliaries. A great number of his horses, too, had perished; and the men and horses that escaped were all of them more or less injured by the cold and the extremity of suffering.—Such was the terrible passage of the Puertos Nevados, which I have only briefly noticed as an episode to the Peruvian conquest, but the account of which, in all its details, though it occupied but a few weeks in duration, would give one a better idea of the difficulties encountered by the Spanish cavaliers, than volumes of ordinary narrative.*

As Alvarado, after halting some time to restore his exhausted troops, began his march across the broad plateau, he was astonished by seeing the prints of horses' hoofs on the soil. Spaniards, then, had been there before him, and, after all his toil and suffering, others had forestalled him in the enterprise against Quito! It is necessary to say a few words in explanation of this.

When Pizarro quitted Caxamalca, being sensible of the growing importance of San Miguel, the only port of entry then in the country, he despatched a person in

* By far the most spirited and thorough record of Alvarado's march is given by Herrera, who has borrowed the pen of Livy describing the Alpine march of Hannibal. (Hist. General, dec. v. lib. vi. cap. i. ii. vii. viii. ix.) See also Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.,—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. viii. cap. xx.,—and Carta de Pedro de Alvarado al Emperador, San Miguel, 15 de Enero. 1535, MS.

Alvarado, in the letter above cited, which is preserved in the Muñoz collection, explains to the Emperor the grounds of his expedition, with no little effrontery. In this document he touches very briefly on the march, being chiefly occupied by the negotiations with Almagro, and accompanying his remarks with many dark suggestions as to the policy pursued by the Conquerors.

whom he had great confidence to take charge of it. This person was Sebastian Benalcazar, a cavalier who afterwards placed his name in the first rank of the South American conquerors, for courage, capacity,—and cruelty. But this cavalier had hardly reached his government, when, like Alvarado, he received such accounts of the riches of Quito, that he determined, with the force at his command, though without orders, to undertake its reduction.

At the head of about a hundred and forty soldiers, horse and foot, and a stout body of Indian auxiliaries, he marched up the broad range of the Andes, to where it spreads out into the table-land of Quito, by a road safer and more expeditious than that taken by Alvarado. On the plains of Riobamba, he encountered the Indian general Ruminavi. Several engagements followed, with doubtful success, when, in the end, science prevailed where courage was well matched, and the victorious Benalcazar planted the standard of Castile on the ancient towers of Atahuallpa. The city, in honour of his general, Francis Pizarro, he named San Francisco del Quito. But great was his mortification on finding that either the stories of its riches had been fabricated, or that these riches were secreted by the natives. The city was all that he gained by his victories,—the shell without the pearl of price which gave it its value. While devouring his chagrin, as he best could, the Spanish captain received tidings of the approach of his superior, Almagro.*

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. iv. cap. xi. xviii.; lib. vi. cap. v. vi.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. viii. cap. xix.—Carta de Benalcazar, MS.

No sooner had the news of Alvarado's expedition reached Cuzco than Almagro left the place with a small force for San Miguel, proposing to strengthen himself by a reinforcement from that quarter, and to march at once against the invaders. Greatly was he astonished, on his arrival in that city, to learn the departure of its commander. Doubting the loyalty of his motives, Almagro, with the buoyancy of spirit which belongs to youth, though in truth somewhat enfeebled by the infirmities of age, did not hesitate to follow Benalcazar at once across the mountains.

With his wonted energy the intrepid veteran, overcoming all the difficulties of his march, in a few weeks placed himself and his little company on the lofty plains which spread around the Indian city of Riobamba; though in his progress he had more than one hot encounter with the natives, whose courage and perseverance formed a contrast sufficiently striking to the apathy of the Peruvians. But the fire only slumbered in the bosom of the Peruvian. His hour had not yet come.

At Riobamba, Almagro was soon joined by the commander of San Miguel, who disclaimed, perhaps sincerely, any disloyal intent in his unauthorized expedition. Thus reinforced, the Spanish captain coolly awaited the coming of Alvarado. The forces of the latter, though in a less serviceable condition, were much superior in number and appointments to those of his rival. As they confronted each other on the broad plains of Riobamba, it seemed probable that a fierce struggle must immediately follow, and the natives of the country have the satisfaction to see their wrongs avenged by the very hands that inflicted

them. But it was Almagro's policy to avoid such an issue.

Negotiations were set on foot, in which each party stated his claims to the country. Meanwhile Alvarado's men mingled freely with their countrymen in the opposite army, and heard there such magnificent reports of the wealth and wonders of Cuzco, that many of them were inclined to change their present service for that of Pizarro. Their own leader, too, satisfied that Quito held out no recompense worth the sacrifices he had made, and was like to make, by insisting on his claim, became now more sensible of the rashness of a course which must doubtless incur the censure of his sovereign. In this temper, it was not difficult for them to effect an adjustment of difficulties; and it was agreed, as the basis of it, that the governor should pay one hundred thousand *pesos de oro* to Alvarado, in consideration of which the latter was to resign to him his fleet, his forces, and all his stores and munitions. His vessels, great and small, amounted to twelve in number, and the sum he received, though large, did not cover his expenses. This treaty being settled, Alvarado proposed, before leaving the country, to have an interview with Pizarro.*

* Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS. — Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. vi. cap. viii.—x. —Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. viii. cap. xx.—Carta de Benalcazar, MS.

The amount of the *bonus* paid to Alvarado is stated very differently by writers. But both that cavalier and Almagro, in their letters to the Emperor, which have hitherto been unknown to historians, agree in the sum given in the text. Alvarado complains that he had no choice but to take it, although it was greatly to his own loss, and, by defeating his expedition, as he modestly intimates, to the loss of the Crown. (Carta de Alvarado al Emperador, MS.)—Almagro, however, states that the sum paid was three times

The governor, meanwhile, had quitted the Peruvian capital for the sea-coast, from his desire to repel any invasion that might be attempted in that direction by Alvarado, with whose real movements he was still unacquainted. He left Cuzco in charge of his brother Juan, a cavalier whose manners were such as, he thought, would be likely to gain the good-will of the native population. Pizarro also left ninety of his troops as the garrison of the capital, and the nucleus of his future colony. Then, taking the Inca Manco with him, he proceeded as far as Xauxa. At this place he was entertained by the Indian prince with the exhibition of a great national hunt,—such as has been already described in these pages,—in which immense numbers of wild animals were slaughtered, and the vicuñas, and other races of Peruvian sheep, which roam over the mountains, driven into enclosures and relieved of their delicate fleeces.*

as much as the armament was worth; "a sacrifice," he adds, "which he made to preserve peace, never dear at any price."—Strange sentiment for a Castilian conqueror! Carta de Diego de Almagro al Emperador, MS., Oct. 15, 1534.

* Carta de la Just. y Reg. de Xauja, MS.—Relacion del Primer. Descub., MS. — Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. vi. cap. xvi.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1534.

At this place, the author of the *Relacion del Primer Descubrimiento del Pirú,* the MS. so often quoted in these pages, abruptly terminates his labours. He is a writer of sense and observation; and, though he has his share of the national tendency to exaggerate and overcolour, he writes like one who means to be honest, and who has seen what he describes.

At Xauxa, also, the notary Pedro Sancho ends his *Relacion,* which embraces a much shorter period than the preceding narrative, but which is equally authentic. Coming from the secretary of Pizarro, and countersigned by that general himself, this Relation, indeed, may be regarded as of the very highest authority. And yet large deductions must obviously be made for the source whence it springs; for it may be taken as Pizarro's own account of his doings, some of which stood

The Spanish governor then proceeded to Pachacamac, where he received the grateful intelligence of the accommodation with Alvarado; and not long afterward he was visited by that cavalier himself previously to his embarkation.

The meeting was conducted with courtesy and a show, at least, of good-will, on both sides, as there was no longer real cause for jealousy between the parties; and each, as may be imagined, looked on the other with no little interest, as having achieved such distinction in the bold path of adventure. In the comparison, Alvarado had somewhat the advantage; for Pizarro, though of commanding presence, had not the brilliant exterior, the free and joyous manner, which, no less than his fresh complexion and sunny locks, had won for the conqueror of Guatemala, in his campaigns against the Aztecs, the *sobriquet* of *Tonatiuh*, or "Child of the Sun."

Blithe were the revels that now rang through the ancient city of Pachacamac; where, instead of songs, and of the sacrifices so often seen there in honour of the Indian deity, the walls echoed to the noise of tourneys and Moorish tilts of reeds, with which the martial adventurers loved to recall the sports of their native land. When these were concluded, Alvarado reembarked for his government of Guatemala, where his restless spirit soon involved him in other enter-

much in need of apology. It must be added, in justice both to the general and to his secretary, that the Relation does not differ substantially from other contemporary accounts, and that the attempt to varnish over the exceptionable passages in the conduct of the Conquerors is not obtrusive.

For the publication of this journal, we are indebted to Ramusio, whose enlightened labours have preserved to us more than one contemporary production of value, though in the form of translation.

prises that cut short his adventurous career. His expedition to Peru was eminently characteristic of the man. It was founded in injustice, conducted with rashness, and ended in disaster.*

The reduction of Peru might now be considered as, in a manner, accomplished. Some barbarous tribes in the interior, it is true, still held out, and Alonso de Alvarado, a prudent and able officer, was employed to bring them into subjection. Benalcazar was still at Quito, of which he was subsequently appointed governor by the Crown. There he was laying deeper the foundation of the Spanish power, while he advanced the line of conquest still higher towards the north. But Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Indian monarchy, had submitted. The armies of Atahuallpa had been beaten and scattered. The empire of the Incas was dissolved; and the prince who now wore the Peruvian diadem was but the shadow of a king, who held his commission from his conqueror.

The first act of the governor was to determine on the site of the future capital of this vast colonial empire. Cuzco, withdrawn among the mountains, was altogether too far removed from the sea-coast for a commercial people. The little settlement of San Miguel lay too far to the north. It was desirable to select some more central position, which could be easily found in one of the fruitful valleys that bordered the

* Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Francisco Pizarro al Señor de Molina, MS.

Alvarado died in 1541, of an injury received from a horse which rolled down on him as he was attempting to scale a precipitous hill in New Galicia. In the same year, by a singular coincidence, perished his beautiful wife, at her own residence in Guatemala, which was overwhelmed by a torrent from the adjacent mountains.

Pacific. Such was that of Pachacamac, which Pizarro now occupied. But, on further examination he preferred the neighbouring valley of Rimac, which lay to the north, and which took its name, signifying in the Quichua tongue "one who speaks," from a celebrated idol, whose shrine was much frequented by the Indians for the oracles it delivered. Through the valley flowed a broad stream, which, like a great artery, was made, as usual by the natives, to supply a thousand finer veins that meandered through the beautiful meadows.

On this river, Pizarro fixed the site of his new capital, at somewhat less than two leagues' distance from its mouth, which expanded into a commodious haven for the commerce that the prophetic eye of the founder saw would one day—and no very distant one—float on its waters. The central situation of the spot recommended it as a suitable residence for the Peruvian viceroy, whence he might hold easy communication with the different parts of the country, and keep vigilant watch over his Indian vessels. The climate was delightful, and, though only twelve degrees south of the line, was so far tempered by the cool breezes that generally blow from the Pacific, or from the opposite quarter down the frozen sides of the Cordilleras, that the heat was less than in corresponding latitudes on the continent. It never rained on the coast; but this dryness was corrected by a vaporous cloud, which, through the summer months, hung like a curtain over the valley, sheltering it from the rays of a tropical sun, and imperceptibly distilling a refreshing moisture, that clothed the fields in the brightest verdure.

The name bestowed on the infant capital was *Ciudad de los Reyes*, or city of the Kings, in honour of the day, being the sixth of January, 1535,—the festival of Epiphany,—when it was said to have been founded, or more probably when its site was determined, as its actual foundation seems to have been twelve days later.* But the Castilian name ceased to be used even within the first generation, and was supplanted by that of Lima, into which the original Indian name of Rimac was corrupted by the Spaniards.†

The city was laid out on a very regular plan. The streets were to be much wider than usual in Spanish towns, and perfectly straight, crossing one another at right angles, and so far asunder as to afford ample space for gardens to the dwellings, and for public squares. It was arranged in a triangular form, having the river for its base, the waters of which were to be carried, by means of stone conduits, through all the principal streets, affording facilities for irrigating the grounds around the houses.

No sooner had the governor decided on the site and on the plan of the city, than he commenced operations with his characteristic energy. The Indians were collected from the distance of more than a hundred miles to aid in the work. The Spaniards applied themselves

* So says Quitana, who follows in this what he pronounces a sure authority, Father Bernabe Cobo, in his book entitled *Fundacion de Lima*. Españoles Celebres, tom. ii. p. 250, nota.

† The MSS. of the old Conquerors shew how, from the very first, the name of Lima superseded the original Indian title. "Y el marquez se passo á Lima y fundò la ciudad de los rreyes que agora es." (Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.) "Asimismo ordenaron que se pasasen el pueblo que tenian en Xauxa poblado á este Valle de Lima donde agora es esta ciudad de los i aqui se poblo." Conq. i Pob. del Pîru, MS.

with vigour to the task, under the eye of their chief. The sword was exchanged for the tool of the artisan. The camp was converted into a hive of diligent labourers; and the sounds of war were succeeded by the peaceful hum of a busy population. The *plaza*, which was extensive, was to be surrounded by the cathedral, the palace of the viceroy, that of the municipality, and other public buildings; and their foundations were laid on a scale, and with a solidity, which defied the assaults of time, and, in some instances, even the more formidable shock of earthquakes, that, at different periods, have laid portions of the fair capital in ruins.*

While these events were going on, Almagro, the Marshal, as he is usually termed by chroniclers of the time, had gone to Cuzco, whither he was sent by Pizarro to take command of that capital. He received also instructions to undertake, either by himself or by his captains, the conquest of the countries towards the south, forming part of Chili. Almagro, since his arrival at Caxamalca, had seemed willing to smother his ancient feelings of resentment towards his associate, or, at least, to conceal the expression of them, and had consented to take command under him in obedience to the royal mandate. He had even, in his despatches, the magnanimity to make honourable mention of Pizarro, as one anxious to promote the interests of government. Yet he did not so far trust his companion, as to neglect the precaution of sending

* Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1535. — Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

The remains of Pizarro's palace may still be discerned in the *Callejon de Petateros*, says Stevenson, who gives the best account of Lima to be found in any modern book of travels which I have consulted. Residence in South America, vol. ii. chap. viii.

a confidental agent to represent his own services, when Hernando Pizarro undertook his mission to the mother country.

That cavalier, after touching at St. Domingo, had arrived without accident at Seville, in January, 1534. Besides the royal fifth, he took with him gold, to the value of half a million of *pesos*, together with a large quantity of silver, the property of private adventurers, some of whom, satisfied with their gains, had returned to Spain in the same vessel with himself. The custom-house was filled with solid ingots, and with vases of different forms, imitations of animals, flowers, fountains, and other objects, executed with more or less skill, and all of pure gold, to the astonishment of the spectators, who flocked from the neighbouring country to gaze on these marvellous productions of Indian art.* Most of the manufactured articles were the property of the Crown; and Hernando Pizarro, after a short stay at Seville, selected some of the most gorgeous specimens, and crossed the country to Calatayud, where the emperor was holding the cortes of Aragon.

Hernando was instantly admitted to the royal presence, and obtained a gracious audience. He was more conversant with courts than either of his brothers, and his manners, when in situations that imposed a restraint on the natural arrogance of his temper, were graceful and even attractive. In a respectful tone, he now recited the stirring adventures of his brother and his little troop of followers, the fatigues they had endured, the difficulties they had overcome,

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. vi. cap. xiii.—Lista de todo lo que Hernando Pizarro trajo del Peru, ap. MSS. de Muñoz.

their capture of the Peruvian Inca, and his magnificent ransom. He had not to tell of the massacre of the unfortunate prince, for that tragic event, which had occurred since his departure from the country, was still unknown to him. The cavalier expatiated on the productiveness of the soil, and on the civilization of the people, evinced by their proficiency in various mechanic arts; in proof of which he displayed the manufactures of wool and cotton, and the rich ornaments of gold and silver. The monarch's eyes sparkled with delight as he gazed on these last. He was too sagacious not to appreciate the advantages of a conquest which secured to him a country so rich in agricultural resources. But the returns from these must necessarily be gradual and long deferred; and he may be excused for listening with still greater satisfaction to Pizarro's tales of its mineral stores; for his ambitious projects had drained the imperial treasury, and he saw in the golden tide thus unexpectedly poured in upon him the immediate means of replenishing it.

Charles made no difficulty, therefore, in granting the petitions of the fortunate adventurer. All the previous grants to Francis Pizarro and his associates were confirmed in the fullest manner; and the boundaries of the governor's jurisdiction were extended seventy leagues further towards the south. Nor did Almagro's services, this time, go unrequited. He was empowered to discover and occupy the country for the distance of two hundred leagues, beginning at the southern limit of Pizarro's territory.* Charles, in

* The country to be occupied received the name of New Toledo, in the royal grant, as the conquests of Pizarro had been

proof, still further, of his satisfaction, was graciously pleased to address a letter to the two commanders, in which he complimented them on their prowess, and thanked them for their services. This act of justice to Almagro would have been highly honourable to Hernando Pizarro, considering the unfriendly relations in which they stood to each other, had it not been made necessary by the presence of the marshal's own agents at court, who, as already noticed, stood ready to supply any deficiency in the statements of the emissary.

In this display of the royal bounty, the envoy, as will readily be believed, did not go without his reward. He was lodged as an attendant of the Court; was made a knight of Santiago, the most prized of the chivalric orders in Spain; was empowered to equip an armament, and to take command of it; and the royal officers at Seville were required to aid him in his views and facilitate his embarkation for the Indies.*

The arrival of Hernando Pizarro in the country, and the reports spread by him and his followers, created a sensation among the Spaniards such as had not been felt since the first voyage of Columbus. The discovery of the New World had filled the minds of men with indefinite expectations of wealth, of which almost every succeeding expedition had proved the fallacy. The conquest of Mexico, though calling forth general admiration as a brilliant and wonderful

designated by that of New Castile. But the present attempt to change the Indian name was as ineffectual as the former, and the ancient title of Chili still designates that narrow strip of fruitful land between the Andes and the ocean, which stretches to the south of the great continent.

* Ibid., loc. cit.

exploit, had as yet failed to produce those golden results which had been so fondly anticipated. The splendid promises held out by Francis Pizarro on his recent visit to the country had not revived the confidence of his countrymen, made incredulous by repeated disappointment. All that they were assured of was the difficulties of the enterprise; and their distrust of its results was sufficiently shewn by the small number of followers, and those only of the most desperate stamp, who were willing to take their chance in the adventure.

But now these promises were realized. It was no longer the golden reports that they were to trust; but the gold itself, which was displayed in such profusion before them. All eyes were now turned towards the West. The broken spendthrift saw in it the quarter where he was to repair his fortunes as speedily as he had ruined them. The merchant, instead of seeking the precious commodities of the East, looked in the opposite direction, and counted on far higher gains, where the most common articles of life commanded so exorbitant prices. The cavalier, eager to win both gold and glory at the point of his lance, thought to find a fair field for his prowess on the mountain plains of the Andes. Ferdinand Pizarro found that his brother had judged rightly in allowing as many of his company as chose to return home, confident that the display of their wealth would draw ten to his banner for every one that quitted it.

In a short time that cavalier saw himself at the head of one of the most numerous and well-appointed armaments, probably, that had left the shores of Spain since the great fleet of Ovando, in the time of Ferdi-

nand and Isabella. It was scarcely more fortunate than this. Hardly had Ferdinand put to sea, when a violent tempest fell on the squadron, and compelled him to return to port and refit. At length he crossed the ocean, and reached the little harbour of Nombre de Dios in safety. But no preparations had been made for his coming, and, as he was detained here some time before he could pass the mountains, his company suffered greatly from scarcity of food. In their extremity the most unwholesome articles were greedily devoured, and many a cavalier spent his little savings to procure himself a miserable subsistence. Disease, as usual, trod closely in the track of famine, and numbers of the unfortunate adventurers, sinking under the unaccustomed heats of the climate, perished on the very threshold of discovery.

It was the tale often repeated in the history of Spanish enterprise. A few, more lucky than the rest, stumble on some unexpected prize, and hundreds, attracted by their success, press forward in the same path. But the rich spoil which lay on the surface has been already swept away by the first comers, and those who follow are to win their treasure by long-protracted and painful exertion.—Broken in spirit and in fortune many returned in disgust to their native shores, while others remained where they were to die in despair. They thought to dig for gold; but they dug only their graves.

Yet it fared not thus with all Pizarro's company. Many of them, crossing the Isthmus with him to Panamá, came in time to Peru, where, in the desperate chances of its revolutionary struggles, some few arrived at posts of profit and distinction. Among those who

first reached the Peruvian shore was an emissary sent by Almagro's agents to inform him of the important grant made to him by the Crown. The tidings reached him just as he was making his entry into Cuzco, where he was received with all respect by Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro, who, in obedience to their brother's commands, instantly resigned the government of the capital into the marshal's hands. But Almagro was greatly elated on finding himself now placed by his sovereign in a command that made him independent of the man who had so deeply wronged him; and he intimated that in the exercise of his present authority he acknowledged no superior. In this lordly humour he was confirmed by several of his followers, who insisted that Cuzco fell to the south of the territory ceded to Pizarro, and consequently came within that now granted to the marshal. Among these followers were several of Alvarado's men, who, though of better condition than the soldiers of Pizarro, were under much worse discipline, and had acquired, indeed, a spirit of unbridled license under that unscrupulous chief.* They now evinced little concern for the native population of Cuzco; and, not content with the public edifices, seized on the dwellings of individuals, where it suited their convenience, appropriating their contents without ceremony,—shewing as little respect, in short, for person or property, as if the place had been taken by storm.†

* In point of discipline, they presented a remarkable contrast to the Conquerors of Peru, if we may take the word of Pedro Pizarro, who assures us that his comrades would not have plucked so much as an ear of corn without leave from their commander. "Que los que pasamos con el marquez á la conquista no ovo hombre que osase tomar vna mazorca de mahiz sin licencia." Descub. y Conq., MS.

† "Se entraron de paz en la

While these events were passing in the ancient Peruvian capital, the governor was still at Lima, where he was greatly disturbed by the accounts he received of the new honours conferred on his associate. He did not know that his own jurisdiction had been extended seventy leagues further to the south, and he entertained the same suspicion with Almagro that the capital of the Incas did not rightly come within his present limits. He saw all the mischief likely to result from this opulent city falling into the hands of his rival, who would thus have an almost indefinite means of gratifying his own cupidity, and that of his followers. He felt, that, under the present circumstances, it was not safe to allow Almagro to anticipate the possession of power to which, as yet, he had no legitimate right; for the despatches containing the warrant for it still remained with Hernando Pizarro at Panamá, and all that had reached Peru was a copy of a garbled extract.

Without loss of time, therefore, he sent instructions to Cuzco for his brothers to resume the government, while he defended the measure to Almagro on the ground, that, when he should hereafter receive his credentials, it would be unbecoming to be found already in possession of the post. He concluded by urging

ciudad del Cuzco i los salieron todos los naturales á rescibir i les tomaron la ciudad con todo quanto havia de dentro llenas las casas de mucha ropa i algunas oro i plata i otras muchas cosas, i las que no estaban bien llenas las echian de lo que tomaban de las demas casas de la dicha ciudad, sin pensar que en ello hacian ofensa alguna Divina ni humana, i porquesta es una cosa larga i casi incomprehensible, la dexase al juicio de quien mas entiende aunque en el daño rescebido por parte de los naturales cerca deste articulo yo sé harto por mis pecados que no quisiera saber ni haver visto." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

him to go forward without delay in his expedition to the south.

But neither the marshal nor his friends were pleased with the idea of so soon relinquishing the authority which they now considered as his right. The Pizarros on the other hand were pertinacious in reclaiming it. The dispute grew warmer and warmer. Each party had its supporters; the city was split into factions; and the municipality, the soldiers, and even the Indian population, took sides in the struggle for power. Matters were proceeding to extremity, menacing the capital with violence and bloodshed, when Pizarro himself appeared among them.*

On receiving tidings of the fatal consequences of his mandates he had posted in all haste to Cuzco, where he was greeted with undisguised joy by the natives, as well as by the more temperate Spaniards, anxious to avert the impending storm. The governor's first interview was with Almagro, whom he embraced with a seeming cordiality in his manner; and, without any show of resentment inquired into the cause of the present disturbances. To this the marshal replied by throwing the blame on Pizarro's brothers; but, although the governor reprimanded them with some asperity for their violence, it was soon evident that his sympathies were on their side, and the dangers of a feud between the two associates seemed greater than ever. Happily, it was postponed by the intervention of some common friends, who shewed

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. vii. cap. vi.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

more discretion than their leaders. With their aid a reconciliation was at length effected, on the grounds substantially of their ancient compact.

It was agreed that their friendship should be maintained inviolate; and, by a stipulation that reflects no great credit on the parties, it was provided that neither should malign nor disparage the other, especially in their despatches to the emperor; and that neither should hold communication with the government without the knowledge of his confederate; lastly, that both the expenditures and the profits of future discovery should be shared equally by the associates. The wrath of Heaven was invoked by the most solemn imprecations on the head of whichever should violate this compact, and the Almighty was implored to visit the offender with loss of property and of life in this world, and with eternal perdition in that to come!* The parties further bound themselves to the observance of this contract by a solemn oath taken on the sacrament as it was held in the hands of Father Bartolomé de Segovia, who concluded the ceremony by performing mass. The whole proceeding, and the articles of agreement, were carefully recorded by the notary, in an instrument bearing date June 12, 1535, and attested by a long list of witnesses.†

Thus did these two ancient comrades, after trampling on the ties of friendship and honour, hope to knit

* "E suplicamos á su infinita bondad que á qualquier de nos que fuere en contrario de lo asi convenido, con todo rigor de justicia permita la perdicion de su anima, fin y mal acavamiento de su vida, destruicion y perdimientos de su familia, honrras y hacienda." Capitulacion entre Pizarro y Almagro, 12 de Junio, 1535, MS.

† This remarkable document, the original of which is preserved in the archives of Simancas, may be found entire in the Castilian, in *Appendix, No.* 11.

themselves to each other by the holy bands of religion. That it should have been necessary to resort to so extraordinary a measure might have furnished them with the best proof of its inefficacy.

Not long after this accommodation of their differences, the marshal raised his standard for Chili; and numbers, won by his popular manners, and by his liberal largesses, — liberal to prodigality, — eagerly joined in the enterprise, which they fondly trusted would lead even to greater riches than they had found in Peru. Two Indians, Paullo Topa, a brother of the Inca Manco, and Villac Umu, the high-priest of the nation, were sent in advance, with three Spaniards to prepare the way for the little army. A detachment of a hundred and fifty men, under an officer named Saavedra, next followed. Almagro remained behind to collect further recruits; but before his levies were completed he began his march, feeling himself insecure with his diminished strength in the neighbourhood of Pizarro!* The remainder of his forces when mustered were to follow him.

Thus relieved of the presence of his rival, the governor returned without further delay to the coast to resume his labours in the settlement of the country. Besides the principal city of "The Kings," he established others along the Pacific, destined to become hereafter the flourishing marts of commerce. The most important of these, in honour of his birth-place,

* "El Adelantado Almagro despues que se vido en el Cuzco descarnado de su jente temio al marquez no le prendiese por las alteraciones pasadas que havia tenido con sus hermanos como ya hemos dicho, i dicen que por ser avisado dello tomó la posta i se fue al pueblo de Paria donde estava su Capitan Saavdra." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

he named Truxillo, planting it on a site already indicated by Almagro.* He made also numerous *repartimientos* both of lands and Indians among his followers, in the usual manner of the Spanish Conquerors;†—though here the ignorance of the real resources of the country led to very different results from what he had intended, as the territory smallest in extent, not unfrequently, from the hidden treasures in its bosom, turned out greatest in value.‡

But nothing claimed so much of Pizarro's care as the rising metropolis of Lima; and, so eagerly did he press forward the work, and so well was he seconded by the multitude of labourers at his command, that he had the satisfaction to see his young capital, with its stately edifices and its pomp of gardens, rapidly advancing towards completion. It is pleasing to contemplate the softer features in the character of the rude soldier as he was thus occupied with healing up the ravages of war, and laying broad the foundations of an empire more civilized than that which he had over-

* Carta de F. Pizarro a Molina, MS.

† I have before me two copies of grants of *encomiendas* by Pizarro, the one dated at Xauxa, 1534, the other at Cuzco, 1539. —They emphatically enjoin on the colonist the religious instruction of the natives under his care, as well as kind and considerate usage. How ineffectual were the recommendations may be inferred from the lament of the anonymous contemporary often cited, that "from this time forth, the pest of personal servitude was established among the Indians, equally disastrous to body and soul of both the master and the slave." (Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.) This honest burst of indignation, not to have been expected in the rude Conqueror, came probably from an ecclesiastic.

† "El Marques hizo encomiendas en los Españoles, las quales fueron por noticias que ni el sabia lo que dava ni nadie lo que rescebia sino a tiento ya poco mas ó menos, y así muchos que pensaron que se les dava pocos se hallaron con mucho y al contrario." Ondegardo, Rel. Prim., MS.

thrown. This peaceful occupation formed a contrast to the life of incessant turmoil in which he had been hitherto engaged. It seemed, too, better suited to his own advancing age, which naturally invited to repose. And, if we may trust his chroniclers, there was no part of his career in which he took greater satisfaction. It is certain there is no part which has been viewed with greater satisfaction by posterity; and, amidst the woe and desolation which Pizarro and his followers brought on the devoted land of the Incas, Lima, the beautiful City of the Kings, still survives as the most glorious work of his creation, the fairest gem on the shores of the Pacific.

CHAPTER X.

Escape of the Inca.—Return of Hernando Pizarro.—Rising of the Peruvians.—Siege and burning of Cuzco.—Distresses of the Spaniards.—Storming of the Fortress.—Pizarro's Dismay.—The Inca raises the Siege.

1535—1536.

WHILE the absence of his rival Almagro relieved Pizarro from all immediate disquietude from that quarter, his authority was menaced in another, where he had least expected it. This was from the native population of the country. Hitherto the Peruvians had shewn only a tame and submissive temper, that inspired their conquerors with too much contempt to leave room for apprehension. They had passively acquiesced in the usurpation of the invaders; had seen one monarch butchered, another placed on the vacant throne, their temples despoiled of their treasures, their capital and country appropriated and parcelled out among the Spaniards; but, with the exception of an occasional skirmish in the mountain passes, not a blow had been struck in defence of their rights. Yet this was the warlike nation which had spread its conquests over so large a part of the continent!

In his career, Pizarro, though he scrupled at nothing to effect his object, had not usually countenanced such superfluous acts of cruelty as had too often stained the arms of his countrymen in other parts of the continent, and which, in the course of a

few years, had exterminated nearly a whole population in Hispaniola. He had struck one astounding blow, by the seizure of Atahuallpa, and he seemed willing to rely on this to strike terror into the natives. He even affected some respect for the institutions of the country, and had replaced the monarch he had murdered by another of the legitimate line. Yet this was but a pretext. The kingdom had experienced a revolution of the most decisive kind. Its ancient institutions were subverted. Its heaven-descended aristocracy was levelled almost to the condition of the peasant. The people became the serfs of the Conquerors. Their dwellings in the capital—at least, after the arrival of Alvarado's officers—were seized and appropriated. The temples were turned into stables; the royal residences into barracks for the troops. The sanctity of the religious houses was violated. Thousands of matrons and maidens, who, however erroneous their faith, lived in chaste seclusion in the conventual establishments, were now turned abroad, and became the prey of a licentious soldiery.* A favourite wife of

* So says the author of the *Conquista i Poblacion del Piru*, a contemporary writer, who describes what he saw himself as well as what he gathered from others. Several circumstances, especially the honest indignation he expresses at the excesses of the Conquerors, lead one to suppose he may have been an ecclesiastic, one of the good men who attended the cruel expedition on an errand of love and mercy. It is to be hoped that his credulity leads him to exaggerate the misdeeds of his countrymen.

According to him, there were full six thousand women of rank, living in the convents of Cuzco, served each by fifteen or twenty female attendants, most of whom, that did not perish in the war, suffered a more melancholy fate, as the victims of prostitution.—The passage is so remarkable, and the MS. so rare, that I will cite it in the original.

"De estas señoras del Cuzco es cierto de tener grande sentimiento el que tuviese alguna humanidad en el pecho, que en tiempo de la prosperidad del Cuzco quando los

the young Inca was debauched by the Castilian officers. The Inca, himself treated with contemptuous indifference, found that he was a poor dependent, if not a tool, in the hands of his conquerors.*

Yet the Inca Manco was a man of a lofty spirit and a courageous heart; such a one as might have challenged comparison with the bravest of his ancestors in the prouder days of the empire. Stung to the quick by the humiliations to which he was exposed, he repeatedly urged Pizarro to restore him to the real exercise of power, as well as to the show of it. But Pizarro evaded a request so incompatible with his own ambitious schemes, or, indeed, with the policy of Spain, and the young Inca and his nobles were left to brood over their injuries in secret, and await patiently the hour of vengeance.

The dissensions among the Spaniards themselves seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for this. The Peruvian chiefs held many conferences together on the subject, and the high-priest Villac Umu urged the necessity of a rising so soon as Almagro had withdrawn his forces from the city. It would then be comparatively easy, by assaulting the invaders on their

Españoles entraron en el havia grand cantidad de señoras que tenian sus casas i sus asientos mui quietas i sosegadas i vivian mui politicamente i como mui buenas mugeres, cada señora acompañada con quince o veinte mugeres que tenià de servicio en su casa bien traidas i aderezadas, i no salian menos desto i con grand onestidad i gravedad i atavio a su usanza, i es a la cantidad destas señoras principales creo yo que en el .... que avia mas de seis mil sin las de servicio que creo yo que eran mas de veinte mil mugeres sin las de servicio i mamaconas que eran las que andavan como beatas i dende á dos años casi no se allava en el Cuzco i su tierra sino cada qual i qual porque muchas murieron en la guerra que huvo i las otras vinieron las mas á ser malas mugeres. Señor perdone a quien fue la causa desto i aquien no lo remedia pudiendo." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

* Ibid., ubi supra.

several posts, scattered as they were over the country, to overpower them by superior numbers, and shake off their detested yoke before the arrival of fresh reinforcements should rivet it for ever on the necks of his countrymen. A plan for a general rising was formed, and it was in conformity to it that the priest was selected by the Inca to bear Almagro company on the march, that he might secure the coöperation of the natives in the country, and then secretly return—as in fact he did—to take a part in the insurrection.

To carry their plans into effect it became necessary that the Inca Manco should leave the city and present himself among his people. He found no difficulty in withdrawing from Cuzco, where his presence was scarcely heeded by the Spaniards, as his nominal power was held in little deference by the haughty and confident Conquerors. But in the capital there was a body of Indian allies more jealous of his movements. These were from the tribe of the Cañares, a warlike race of the north, too recently reduced by the Incas to have much sympathy with them or their institutions. There were about a thousand of this people in the place, and, as they had conceived some suspicion of the Inca's purposes, they kept an eye on his movements, and speedily reported his absence to Juan Pizarro.

That cavalier, at the head of a small body of horse, instantly marched in pursuit of the fugitive, whom he was so fortunate as to discover in a thicket of reeds, in which he sought to conceal himself, at no great distance from the city. Manco was arrested, brought back a prisoner to Cuzco, and placed under a strong guard in the fortress. The conspiracy seemed now at

an end; and nothing was left to the unfortunate Peruvians but to bewail their ruined hopes, and to give utterance to their disappointment in doleful ballads, which rehearsed the captivity of their Inca, and the downfall of his royal house.*

While these things were in progress, Hernando Pizarro returned to Ciudad de los Reyes, bearing with him the royal commission for the extension of his brother's powers, as well as of those conceded to Almagro. The envoy also brought the royal patent conferring on Francisco Pizarro the title of *Marques de los Atavillos*,—a province in Peru. Thus was the fortunate adventurer placed in the ranks of the proud aristocracy of Castile, few of whose members could boast —if they had the courage to boast—their elevation from so humble an origin, as still fewer could justify it by a show of greater services to the Crown.

The new marquess resolved not to forward the commission, at present, to the marshal, whom he designed to engage still deeper in the conquest of Chili, that his attention might be diverted from Cuzco, which, however, his brother assured him, now fell, without doubt, within the newly extended limits of his own territory. To make more sure of this important prize, he despatched Hernando to take the government of the capital into his own hands, as the one of his brothers on whose talents and practical experience he placed greatest reliance.

Hernando, notwithstanding his arrogant bearing towards his countrymen, had ever manifested a more

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. i. ii. —Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. ii. cap. iii.

than ordinary sympathy with the Indians. He had been the friend of Atahuallpa, to such a degree, indeed, that it was said, if he had been in the camp at the time, the fate of that unhappy monarch would probably have been averted. He now shewed a similar friendly disposition towards his successor, Manco. He caused the Peruvian prince to be liberated from confinement, and gradually admitted him into some intimacy with himself. The crafty Indian availed himself of his freedom to mature his plans for the rising, but with so much caution, that no suspicion of them crossed the mind of Hernando. Secrecy and silence are characteristic of the American, almost as invariably as the peculiar colour of his skin. Manco disclosed to his conqueror the existence of several heaps of treasure, and the places where they had been secreted; and, when he had thus won his confidence, he stimulated his cupidity still further by an account of a statue of pure gold of his father Huayna Capac, which the wily Peruvian requested leave to bring from a secret cave in which it was deposited, among the neighbouring Andes. Hernando, blinded by his avarice, consented to the Inca's departure.

He sent with him two Spanish soldiers, less as a guard than to aid him in the object of his expedition. A week elapsed, and yet he did not return, nor were there any tidings to be gathered of him. Hernando now saw his error, especially as his own suspicions were confirmed by the unfavourable reports of his Indian allies. Without further delay, he despatched his brother Juan, at the head of sixty horse, in quest of the Peruvian prince, with orders to bring him back once more a prisoner to his capital.

That cavalier, with his well-armed troops, soon traversed the environs of Cuzco without discovering any vestige of the fugitive. The country was remarkably silent and deserted, until, as he approached the mountain range that hems in the valley of Yucay, about six leagues from the city, he was met by the two Spaniards who had accompanied Manco. They informed Pizarro that it was only at the point of the sword he could recover the Inca, for the country was all in arms, and the Peruvian chief at its head was preparing to march on the capital. Yet he had offered no violence to their persons, but had allowed them to return in safety.

The Spanish captain found this story fully confirmed when he arrived at the river Yucay, on the opposite bank of which were drawn up the Indian battalions to the number of many thousand men, who, with their young monarch at their head, prepared to dispute his passage. It seemed that they could not feel their position sufficiently strong, without placing a river, as usual, between them and their enemy. The Spaniards were not checked by this obstacle. The stream, though deep, was narrow; and, plunging in, they swam their horses boldly across, amidst a tempest of stones and arrows that rattled thick as hail on their harness, finding occasionally some crevice or vulnerable point, although the wounds thus received only goaded them to more desperate efforts. The barbarians fell back as the cavaliers made good their landing; but, without allowing the latter time to form, they returned with a spirit which they had hitherto seldom displayed, and enveloped them on all sides with their greatly superior numbers. The fight now raged fiercely. Many

of the Indians were armed with lances headed with copper tempered almost to the hardness of steel, and with huge maces and battle-axes of the same metal. Their defensive armour, also, was, in many respects, excellent, consisting of stout doublets of quilted cotton, shields covered with skins, and casques richly ornamented with gold and jewels, or sometimes made like those of the Mexicans, in the fantastic shape of the heads of wild animals, garnished with rows of teeth that grinned horribly above the visage of the warrior.* The whole army wore an aspect of martial ferocity, under the control of much higher military discipline than the Spaniards had before seen in the country.

The little band of cavaliers, shaken by the fury of the Indian assault, were thrown at first into some disorder, but at length, cheering on one another with the old war cry of "St. Jago," they formed in solid column, and charged boldly into the thick of the enemy. The latter, incapable of withstanding the shock, gave way, or were trampled down under the feet of the horses, or pierced by the lances of the riders. Yet their flight was conducted with some order; and they turned at intervals, to let off a volley of arrows, or to deal furious blows with their pole-axes and war-clubs. They fought as if conscious that they were under the eye of their Inca.

* "Es gente," says Oviedo, "muy belicosa é muy diestra; sus armas son picas, é ondas, porras é alabardas de plata é oro é cobre." (Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. viii. cap. xvii.) Xerez has made a good enumeration of the native Peruvian arms. (Conq. del Peru, ap. Barcia, tom. iii. p. 200.) Father Velasco has added considerably to this catalogue. According to him they used copper swords, poniards, and other European weapons. (Hist. de Quito, tom. i. pp. 178-180.) He does not insist on their knowledge of fire-arms before the Conquest!

It was evening before they had entirely quitted the level ground, and withdrawn into the fastnesses of the lofty range of hills which belt round the beautiful valley of Yucay. Juan Pizarro and his little troop encamped on the level at the base of the mountains. He had gained a victory, as usual, over immense odds; but he had never seen a field so well disputed, and his victory had cost him the lives of several men and horses, while many more had been wounded, and were nearly disabled by the fatigues of the day. But he trusted the severe lesson he had inflicted on the enemy, whose slaughter was great, would crush the spirit of resistance. He was deceived.

The following morning, great was his dismay to see the passes of the mountains filled up with dark lines of warriors, stretching as far as the eye could penetrate into the depths of the sierra, while dense masses of the enemy were gathered like thunder-clouds along the slopes and summits, as if ready to pour down injury on the assailants. The ground, altogether unfavourable to the manœuvres of cavalry, gave every advantage to the Peruvians, who rolled down huge rocks from their elevated position, and sent off incessant showers of missiles on the heads of the Spaniards. Juan Pizarro did not care to entangle himself further in the perilous defile; and, though he repeatedly charged the enemy, and drove them back with considerable loss, the second night found him with men and horses wearied and wounded, and as little advanced in the object of his expedition as on the preceding evening. From this embarrassing position, after a day or two more spent in unprofitable hostilities, he was surprised by a summons from his brother

to return with all expedition to Cuzco, which was now besieged by the enemy!

Without delay, he began his retreat, recrossed the valley, the recent scene of slaughter, swam the river Yucay, and, by a rapid countermarch, closely followed by the victorious enemy, who celebrated their success with songs or rather yells of triumph, he arrived before nightfall in sight of the capital.

But very different was the sight which there met his eye from what he had beheld on leaving it a few days before. The extensive environs, as far as the eye could reach, were occupied by a mighty host, which an indefinite computation swelled to the number of two hundred thousand warriors.* The dusky lines of the Indian battalions stretched out to the very verge of the mountains; while, all around, the eye saw only the crests and waving banners of chieftains, mingled with rich panoplies of feather-work, which reminded some few who had served under Cortés of the military costume of the Aztecs. Above all rose a forest of long lances and battle-axes edged with copper, which, tossed to and fro in wild confusion, glittered in the rays of the setting sun, like light playing on the surface of a dark and troubled ocean. It was the first time that the Spaniards had beheld an Indian army in all its terrors; such an army as the Incas led to battle, when the banner of the Sun was borne triumphant over the land.

Yet the bold hearts of the cavaliers, if for a moment dismayed by the sight, soon gathered courage as

* "Pues junta toda la gente quel ynga avia embiado á juntar que á lo que se entendio y los Indios dixeron fueron dozientos mil Indios de guerra los que vinieron á poner este cerco." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

they closed up their files, and prepared to open a way for themselves through the beleaguering host. But the enemy seemed to shun the encounter; and, falling back at their approach, left a free entrance into the capital. The Peruvians were, probably, not unwilling to draw as many victims as they could into the toils, conscious that, the greater the number, the sooner they would become sensible to the approaches of famine.*

Hernando Pizarro greeted his brother with no little satisfaction; for he brought an important addition to his force, which now, when all were united, did not exceed two hundred, horse and foot,† besides a thousand Indian auxiliaries; an insignificant number, in comparison with the countless multitudes that were swarming at the gates. That night was passed by the Spaniards with feelings of the deepest anxiety, as they looked forward with natural apprehension to the morrow. It was early in February, 1536, when the siege of Cuzco commenced; a siege memorable as calling out the most heroic displays of Indian and European valour, and bringing the two races in deadlier conflict with each other than had yet occurred in the conquest of Peru.

The numbers of the enemy seemed no less formidable during the night than by the light of day; far and wide their watch-fires were to be seen gleaming over valley and hill-top, as thickly scattered, says an eye-witness, as "the stars of heaven in a cloudless

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Conq. i. Pob. del Piru, MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. 4.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxxxiii.

† "Y los pocos Españoles que heramos aun no dozientos todos." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

summer night."* Before these fires had become pale in the light of the morning, the Spaniards were roused by the hideous clamour of conch, trumpet, and atabal, mingled with the fierce war-cries of the barbarians, as they let off volleys of missiles of every description, most of which fell harmless within the city. But others did more serious execution. These were burning arrows and red-hot stones wrapped in cotton that had been steeped in some bituminous substance, which, scattering long trains of light through the air, fell on the roofs of the buildings, and speedily set them on fire.† These roofs, even of the better sort of edifices, were uniformly of thatch, and were ignited as easily as tinder. In a moment the flames burst forth from the most opposite quarters of the city. They quickly communicated to the wood-work in the interior of the buildings, and broad sheets of flame mingled with smoke rose up towards the heavens, throwing a fearful glare over every object. The rarefied atmosphere heightened the previous impetuosity of the wind, which, fanning the rising flames, they rapidly spread from dwelling to dwelling, till the whole fiery mass, swayed to and fro by the tempest, surged and roared with the fury of a volcano. The heat became intense, and clouds of smoke, gathering like a dark pall over the city, produced a sense of suffocation and almost

* "Pues de noche heran tantos los fuegos que no parecia sino vn cielo muy sereno lleno de estrellas." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

† "Unas piedras rredondas y hechallas en el fuego y hazellas asqua embolvianlas en vnos algodones y poniendolas en hondas las tiravan a las cassas donde no alcanzavan á poner fuego con las manos, y ansi nos quemavan las cassas sin entendello. Otras veces con flechas encendidas tirandolas á las casas que como heran de paja luego se encendian." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

blindness in those quarters where it was driven by the winds.*

The Spaniards were encamped in the great square, partly under awnings, and partly in the hall of the Inca Viracocha, on the ground since covered by the cathedral. Three times in the course of that dreadful day, the roof of the building was on fire; but, although no efforts were made to extinguish it, the flames went out without doing much injury. This miracle was ascribed to the Blessed Virgin, who was distinctly seen by several of the Christian combatants, hovering over the spot on which was to be raised the temple dedicated to her worship.†

Fortunately, the open space around Hernando's little company separated them from the immediate scene of conflagration. It afforded a means of preservation similar to that employed by the American hunter, who endeavours to surround himself with a belt of wasted land, when overtaken by a conflagration in the prairies. All day the fire continued to rage, and at

* "I era tanto el humo que casi los oviera de aogar i pasaron grand travajo por esta causa i sino fuera porque de la una parte de la plaza no havia casas i estava desconorado no pudieran escapar porque si por todas partes les diera el humo i el calor siendo tan grande pasaron travajo, pero la divina providencia lo estorvó." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

† The temple was dedicated to Our Blessed Lady of the Assumption. The apparition of the Virgin was manifest not only to Christian but to Indian warriors, many of whom reported it to Garcilasso de la Vega, in whose hands the marvellous rarely loses any of its gloss. (Com. Real., parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xxv.) It is further attested by Father Acosta, who came into the country forty years after the event. (lib. vii. cap. xxvii.) Both writers testify to the seasonable aid rendered by St. James, who with his buckler, displaying the device of his Military Order, and armed with his flaming sword, rode his white charger into the thick of the enemy. The patron Saint of Spain might always be relied on when his presence was needed; *dignus vindice nodus.*

night the effect was even more appalling; for by the lurid flames the unfortunate Spaniards could read the consternation depicted in each other's ghastly countenances, while in the suburbs, along the slopes of the surrounding hills, might be seen the throng of besiegers gazing with fiendish exultation on the work of destruction. High above the town to the north, rose the gray fortress, which now shewed ruddy in the glare, looking grimly down on the ruins of the fair city which it was no longer able to protect; and in the distance were to be discerned the shadowy forms of the Andes, soaring up in solitary grandeur into the regions of eternal silence, far beyond the wild tumult that raged so fearfully at their base.

Such was the extent of the city, that it was several days before the fury of the fire was spent. Tower and temple, hut, palace, and hall, went down before it. Fortunately, among the buildings that escaped were the magnificent House of the Sun and the neighbouring Convent of the Virgins. Their insulated position afforded the means, of which the Indians from motives of piety were willing to avail themselves, for their preservation.* Full one half of the capital, so long the

* Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xxiv.

Father Valverde, Bishop of Cuzco, who took so signal a part in the seizure of Atahuallpa, was absent from the country at this period, but returned the following year. In a letter to the emperor, he contrasts the flourishing condition of the capital when he left it, and that in which he now found it, despoiled, as well as its beautiful suburbs, of its ancient glories. "If I had not known the site of the city," he says, "I should not have recognised it as the same." The passage is too remarkable to be omitted. The original letter exists in the archives of Simancas.—"Certifico á V. M. que si no me acordara del sitio desta ciudad yo no la conosciera, á lo menos por los edificios y pueblos della; porque quando el Gobernador D. Franzisco Pizarro entró aqui y entré yo con

chosen seat of Western civilization, the pride of the Incas, and the bright abode of their tutelar deity, was laid in ashes by the hands of his own children. It was some consolation for them to reflect, that it burned over the heads of its conquerors,—their trophy and their tomb!

During the long period of the conflagration, the Spaniards made no attempt to extinguish the flames. Such an attempt would have availed nothing. Yet they did not tamely submit to the assaults of the enemy, and they sallied forth from time to time to repel them. But the fallen timbers and scattered rubbish of the houses presented serious impediments to the movements of horse; and, when these were partially cleared away by the efforts of the infantry and the Indian allies, the Peruvians planted stakes and threw barricades across the path, which proved equally embarrassing.* To remove them was a work of time and no little danger, as the pioneers were exposed to the whole brunt of the enemy's archery, and the aim of the Peruvian was sure. When at length the ob-

él estava este valle tan hermoso en edificios y poblazion que en torno tenia que era cosa de admiracion vello, porque aunque la ciudad en si no ternia mas de 3 o 4000 casas, ternia en torno quasi á vista 19 o 20,000; la fortaleza que estava sobre la ciudad parescia desde á parte una mui gran fortaleza de las de España: agora la mayor parte de la ciudad esta toda derivada y quemada; la fortaleza no tiene quasi nada enhiesso; todos los pueblos de alderredor no tienẽ sino las paredes que por maravilla ai casa cubierta! La cosa que mas contentamiento me dio en esta ciudad fue la iglesia, que para en Indias es harto buena cosa, aunque segun la riqueza a havido en esta tierra pudiera ser mas semejante al Templo de Salomon." Carta del Obispo F. Vicente de Valverde al Emperador, MS., 20 de Marzo, 1539.

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

"Los Indios ganaron el Cuzco casi todo desta manera que enganando la calle hivan haciendo una pared para que los cavallos ni los Españoles no los pudiesen romper." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

stacles were cleared away, and a free course was opened to the cavalry, they rushed with irresistible impetuosity on their foes, who, falling back in confusion, were cut to pieces by the riders, or pierced through with their lances. The slaughter on these occasions was great; but the Indians, nothing disheartened, usually returned with renewed courage to the attack, and while fresh reinforcements met the Spaniards in front, others lying in ambush among the ruins, threw the troops into disorder by assailing them on the flanks. The Peruvians were expert both with bow and sling; and these encounters, notwithstanding the superiority of their arms, cost the Spaniards more lives than in their crippled condition they could afford to spare,—a loss poorly compensated by that of tenfold the number of the enemy. One weapon, peculiar to South American warfare, was used with some effect by the Peruvians. This was the *lasso*,—a long rope with a noose at the end, which they adroitly threw over the rider, or entangled with it the legs of his horse, so as to bring them both to the ground. More than one Spaniard fell into the hands of the enemy by this expedient.*

Thus harassed, sleeping on their arms, with their horses picketed by their side, ready for action at any and every hour, the Spaniards had no rest by night or by day. To add to their troubles, the fortress which overlooked the city, and completely commanded the great square in which they were quartered, had been so feebly garrisoned in their false sense of security, that, on the approach of the Peruvians, it had been abandoned without a blow in its defence. It was now

* Ibid., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. iv.

occupied by a strong body of the enemy, who, from his elevated position, sent down showers of missiles, from time to time, which added greatly to the annoyance of the besieged. Bitterly did their captain now repent the improvident security which had led him to neglect a post so important.

Their distresses were still further aggravated by the rumours which continually reached their ears of the state of the country. The rising, it was said, was general throughout the land: the Spaniards living on their insulated plantations had all been massacred; Lima and Truxillo and the principal cities were besieged, and must soon fall into the enemy's hands; the Peruvians were in possession of the passes, and all communications were cut off, so that no relief was to be expected from their countrymen on the coast. Such were the dismal stories, (which, however exaggerated, had too much foundation in fact,) that now found their way into the city from the camp of the besiegers. And to give greater credit to the rumours, eight or ten human heads were rolled into the *plaza*, in whose blood-stained visages the Spaniards recognized with horror the lineaments of their companions, who they knew had been dwelling in solitude on their estates.*

Overcome by these horrors, many were for abandoning the passage at once, as no longer tenable, and for opening a place for themselves to the coast with their own good swords. There was a daring in the enterprise which had a charm for the adventurous spirit of the Castilian. Better, they said, to perish in a manly struggle for life, than to die thus ignominiously, pent

* Ibid., ubi supra.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

up like foxes in their holes, to be suffocated by the hunter!

But the Pizarros, De Rojas, and some other of the principal cavaliers, refused to acquiesce in a measure which, they said, must cover them with dishonour.* Cuzco had been the great prize for which they had contended; it was the ancient seat of empire, and, though now in ashes, would again rise from its ruins as glorious as before. All eyes would be turned on them, as its defenders, and their failure, by giving confidence to the enemy, might decide the fate of their countrymen throughout the land. They were placed in that post as the post of honour, and better would it be to die there than to desert it.

There seemed, indeed, no alternative; for every avenue to escape was cut off by an enemy who had perfect knowledge of the country, and possession of all its passes. But this state of things could not last long. The Indian could not, in the long run, contend with the white man. The spirit of insurrection would die out of itself. Their great army would melt away, unaccustomed as the natives were to the privations incident to a protracted campaign. Reinforcements would be daily coming in from the colonies; and, if the Castilians would be but true to themselves for a season, they would be relieved by their own countrymen, who would never suffer them to die like outcasts among the mountains.

The cheering words and courageous bearing of the

* "Pues Hernando Piçarro nunca estuvo en ello y les respondia que todos aviamos de morir y no desamparar el Cuzco. Juntavanse á estas consultas Hernando Piçarro y sus hermanos, Graviel de Rojas, Hernan Ponce de Leon, el Thesorero Riquelme," Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq. MS.

cavaliers went to the hearts of their followers; for the soul of the Spaniard readily responded to the call of honour, if not of humanity. All now agreed to stand by their leader to the last. But, if they would remain longer in their present position, it was absolutely necessary to dislodge the enemy from the fortress; and, before venturing on this dangerous service, Hernando Pizarro resolved to strike such a blow as should intimidate the besiegers from further attempt to molest his present quarters.

He communicated his plan of attack to his officers; and, forming his little troop into three divisions, he placed them under command of his brother Gonzalo, of Gabriel de Rojas, an officer in whom he reposed great confidence, and Hernan Ponce de Leon. The Indian pioneers were sent forward to clear away the rubbish, and the several divisions moved simultaneously up the principal avenues towards the camp of the besiegers. Such stragglers as they met in their way were easily cut to pieces, and the three bodies, bursting impetuously on the disordered lines of the Peruvians, took them completely by surprise. For some moments there was little resistance, and the slaughter was terrible. But the Indians gradually rallied, and, coming into something like order, returned to the fight with the courage of men who had long been familiar with danger. They fought hand to hand with their copper-headed war-clubs and pole-axes, while a storm of darts, stones, and arrows rained on the well-defended bodies of the Christians.

The barbarians shewed more discipline than was to have been expected; for which, it is said, they were indebted to some Spanish prisoners, from several of

whom the Inca, having generously spared their lives, took occasional lessons in the art of war. The Peruvians had also learned to manage with some degree of skill the weapons of their conquerors; and they were seen armed with bucklers, helmets, and swords of European workmanship, and, even in a few instances, mounted on the horses which they had taken from the white men.* The young Inca, in particular, accoutred in the European fashion, rode a war-horse which he managed with considerable address; and, with a long lance in his hand, led on his followers to the attack.—This readiness to adopt the superior arms and tactics of the Conquerors intimates a higher civilization than that which belonged to the Aztec, who, in his long collision with the Spaniards, was never so far divested of his terrors for the horse as to venture to mount him.

But a few days or weeks of training were not enough to give familiarity with weapons, still less with tactics, so unlike those to which the Peruvians had been hitherto accustomed. The fight, on the present occasion, though hotly contested, was not of long duration. After a gallant struggle, in which the natives threw themselves fearlessly on the horsemen, endeavouring to tear them from their saddles, they were obliged to give way before the repeated shock of their charges. Many were trampled under foot, others cut down by the Spanish broadswords, while the arquebusiers, supporting the cavalry, kept up a running fire that did terrible execution on the flanks and rear of

* Herrera assures us, that the Peruvians even turned the fire-arms of their conquerors against them, compelling their prisoners to put the muskets in order, and manufacture powder for them. Hist. General, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. v. vi.

the fugitives. At length, sated with slaughter, and trusting that the chastisement he had inflicted on the enemy would secure him from further annoyance for the present, the Castilian general drew back his forces to their quarters in the capital.*

His next step was the recovery of the citadel. It was an enterprise of danger. The fortress which overlooked the northern section of the city, stood high on a rocky eminence, so steep as to be inaccessible on this quarter, where it was defended only by a single wall. Towards the open country it was more easy of approach; but there it was protected by two semicircular walls, each about twelve hundred feet in length, and of great thickness. They were built of massive stones, or rather rocks, put together without cement, so as to form a kind of rustic work. The level of the ground between these lines of defence was raised up so as to enable the garrison to discharge its arrows at the assailants, while their own persons were protected by the parapet. Within the interior wall was the fortress, consisting of three strong towers, one of great height, which, with a smaller one, was now held by the enemy, under the command of an Inca noble, a warrior of well-tried valour, prepared to defend it to the last extremity.

The perilous enterprise was entrusted by Hernando Pizarro to his brother Juan, a cavalier, in whose bosom burned the adventurous spirit of a knight-errant of romance. As the fortress was to be approached through the mountain passes, it became necessary to divert the enemy's attention to another quarter. A

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. iv. v.

little while before sun-set Juan Pizarro left the city with a picked corps of horsemen, and took a direction opposite to that of the fortress, that the besieging army might suppose the object was a foraging expedition. But secretly countermarching in the night, he fortunately found the passes unprotected, and arrived before the outer wall of the fortress, without giving the alarm to the garrison.*

The entrance was through a narrow opening in the centre of the rampart; but this was now closed up with heavy stones, that seemed to form one solid work with the rest of the masonry. It was an affair of time to dislodge these huge masses, in such a manner as not to rouse the garrison. The Indian nations, who rarely attacked in the night, were not sufficiently acquainted with the art of war even to provide against surprise by posting sentinels. When the task was accomplished, Juan Pizarro and his gallant troop rode through the gateway, and advanced towards the second parapet.

But their movements had not been conducted so secretly as to escape notice, and they now found the interior court swarming with warriors, who, as the Spaniards drew near, let off clouds of missiles that compelled them to come to a halt. Juan Pizarro, aware that no time was to be lost, ordered one half of his corps to dismount, and, putting himself at their head, prepared to make a breach as before in the fortifications. He had been wounded some days previously in the jaw, so that, finding his helmet caused him pain, he rashly dispensed with it, and trusted for protection to his buckler.† Leading on his men, he encouraged them in the work of demolition, in the

* Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS. † Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

face of such a storm of stones, javelins, and arrows, as might have made the stoutest heart shrink from encountering it. The good mail of the Spaniards did not always protect them; but others took the place of such as fell, until a breach was made, and the cavalry, pouring in, rode down all who opposed them.

The parapet was now abandoned, and the enemy, hurrying with disorderly flight across the enclosure, took refuge on a kind of platform or terrace, commanded by the principal tower. Here rallying, they shot off fresh volleys of missiles against the Spaniards, while the garrison in the fortress hurled down fragments of rock and timber on their heads. Juan Pizarro, still among the foremost, sprang forward on the terrace, cheering on his men by his voice and example; but at this moment he was struck by a large stone on the head, not then protected by his buckler, and was stretched on the ground. The dauntless chief still continued to animate his followers by his voice, till the terrace was carried, and its miserable defenders were put to the sword. His sufferings were then too much for him, and he was removed to the town below, where, notwithstanding every exertion to save him, he survived the injury but a fortnight, and died in great agony.* To say that he was a Pizarro is enough to attest his claim to valour. But it is his praise, that his valour was tempered by courtesy. His own nature appeared mild by contrast with the haughty temper of

* "Y estando batallando con ellos para echallos de alli Joan Piçarro se descuido descubrirse la cabeça con la adarga y con las muchas pedradas que tiravan le acertaron vna en la caveça que le quebraron los cascos y dende á quince dias murio desta herida y ansi herido estuvo forcejando con los Yndios y Españoles hasta que se gano este terrado y ganado le abaxaron al Cuzco." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

his brothers, and his manners made him a favourite of the army. He had served in the conquest of Peru from the first, and no name on the roll of its conquerors is less tarnished by the reproach of cruelty, or stands higher in all the attributes of a true and valiant knight.*

Though deeply sensible to his brother's disaster, Hernando Pizarro saw that no time was to be lost in profiting by the advantages already gained. Committing the charge of the town to Gonzalo, he put himself at the head of the assailants, and laid vigorous siege to the fortresses. One surrendered after a short resistance. The other and more formidable of the two still held out under the brave Inca noble who commanded it. He was a man of an athletic frame, and might be seen striding along the battlements, armed with a Spanish buckler and cuirass, and in his hand wielding a formidable mace, garnished with points or knobs of copper. With this terrible weapon he struck down all who attempted to force a passage into the fortress. Some of his own followers who proposed a surrender he is said to have slain with his own hand. Hernando prepared to carry the place by escalade. Ladders were planted against the walls, but no sooner did a Spaniard gain the topmost round, than he was hurled to the ground by the strong arm of the Indian warrior. His activity was equal to his strength; and he seemed to be at every point the moment that his presence was needed.

* "Hera valiente," says Pedro Pizarro, "y muy animoso, gentil hombre, magnanimo y afable." (Descub. y Conq., MS.) Zarate dismisses him with this brief panegyric:—"Fue gran pérdida en la tierra, porque era Juan Piçarro mui valiente, i experimentado en las guerras de los Indios, i bien quisto, i amado de todos." Conq. del Peru, lib. iii. cap. iii.

The Spanish commander was filled with admiration at this display of valour; for he could admire valour even in an enemy. He gave orders that the chief should not be injured, but be taken alive, if possible.* This was not easy. At length, numerous ladders having been planted against the tower, the Spaniards scaled it on several quarters at the same time, and, leaping into the place, overpowered the few combatants who still made a show of resistance. But the Inca chieftain was not to be taken; and, finding further resistance ineffectual, he sprang to the edge of the battlements, and, casting away his war-club, wrapped his mantle around him and threw himself headlong from the summit.† He died like an ancient Roman. He had struck his last stroke for the freedom of his country, and he scorned to survive her dishonour. The Castilian commander left a small force in garrison to secure his conquest, and returned in triumph to his quarters.

Week after week rolled away, and no relief came to the beleaguered Spaniards. They had long since begun to feel the approaches of famine. Fortunately, they were provided with water from the streams which flowed through the city. But, though they had well husbanded their resources, their provisions were exhausted, and they had for some time depended on

* "Y mando Hernando Piçarro á los Españoles que subian que no matasen á este Yndio sino que se ſo tomasen á vida, jurando de no matalle si lo avia bivo." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

† "Visto este orejon que se lo avian ganado y le avian ganado y le avian tomado por dos ó tres partes el fuerte, arrojando las armas se tapo la caveça y el rrostro con la manta y se arrojo del cubo abajo mas de cien estados, y ansi se hizo pedazos." A Hernando Piçarro le peso mucho por no tomalle á vida." Ibid., MS.

such scanty supplies of grain as they could gather from the ruined magazines and dwellings, mostly consumed by the fire, or from the produce of some successful foray.* This latter resource was attended with no little difficulty; for every expedition led to a fierce encounter with the enemy, which usually cost the lives of several Spaniards, and inflicted a much heavier injury on the Indian allies. Yet it was at least one good result of such loss, that it left fewer to provide for. But the whole number of the besieged was so small, that any loss greatly increased the difficulties of defence by the remainder.

As months passed away without bringing any tidings of their countrymen, their minds were haunted with still gloomier apprehensions as to their fate. They well knew that the governor would make every effort to rescue them from their desperate condition. That he had not succeeded in this made it probable, that his own situation was no better than theirs, or, perhaps, he and his followers had already fallen victims to the fury of the insurgents. It was a dismal thought, that they alone were left in the land, far from all human succour, to perish miserably by the hands of the barbarians among the mountains.

Yet the actual state of things, though gloomy in the extreme, was not quite so desperate as their imaginations had painted it. The insurrection, it is true, had been general throughout the country, at least that portion of it occupied by the Spaniards. It had been so well concerted, that it broke out almost simultaneously, and the Conquerors, who were living in careless security on their estates, had been massacred to

* Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xxiv.

the number of several hundreds. An Indian force had sat down before Xauxa, and a considerable army had occupied the valley of Rimac and laid siege to Lima. But the country around that capital was of an open, level character, very favourable to the action of cavalry. Pizarro no sooner saw himself menaced by the hostile array, than he sent such a force against the Peruvians as speedily put them to flight; and, following up his advantage, he inflicted on them such a severe chastisement, that, although they still continued to hover in the distance and cut off his communications with the interior, they did not care to trust themselves on the other side of the Rimac.

The accounts that the Spanish commander now received of the state of the country filled him with the most serious alarm. He was particularly solicitous for the fate of the garrison at Cuzco, and he made repeated efforts to relieve that capital. Four several detachments, amounting to more than four hundred men in all, half of them cavalry, were sent by him at different times, under some of his bravest officers. But none of them reached their place of destination. The wily natives permitted them to march into the interior of the country, until they were fairly entangled in the passes of the Cordilleras. They then enveloped them with greatly superior numbers, and, occupying the heights, showered down their fatal missiles on the heads of the Spaniards, or crushed them under the weight of fragments of rock which they rolled on them from the mountains. In some instances, the whole detachment was cut off to a man. In others, a few stragglers only survived to return

and tell the bloody tale to their countrymen at Lima.*

Pizarro was now filled with consternation. He had the most dismal forebodings of the fate of the Spaniards dispersed throughout the country, and even doubted the possibility of maintaining his own foothold in it without assistance from abroad. He despatched a vessel to the neighbouring colony at Truxillo, urging them to abandon the place, with all their effects, and to repair to him at Lima. The measure was, fortunately, not adopted. Many of his men were for availing themselves of the vessels which rode at anchor in the port to make their escape from the country at once, and take refuge in Panamá. Pizarro would not hearken to so dastardly a counsel, which involved the desertion of the brave men in the interior who still looked to him for protection. He cut off the hopes of these timid spirits by despatching all the vessels then in port on a very different mission. He sent letters by them to the governors of Panamá, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Mexico, representing the gloomy state of his affairs, and invoking their aid. His epistle to Alvarado, then established at Guatemala, is preserved. He conjures him by every sentiment of honour and patriotism to come to his assistance, and this before it was too late. Without assistance, the Spaniards could

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. v.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. v.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xxviii.

According to the historian of the Incas, there fell in these expeditions four hundred and seventy Spaniards. Cieza de Leon computes the whole number of Christians who perished in this insurrection at seven hundred, many of them, he adds, under circumstances of great cruelty. (Cronica, cap. lxxxii.) The estimate, considering the spread and spirit of the insurrection, does not seem extravagant.

no longer maintain their footing in Peru, and that great empire would be lost to the Castilian Crown. He finally engages to share with him such conquests as they may make with their united arms.* Such concessions, to the very man whose absence from the country, but a few months before, Pizarro would have been willing to secure at almost any price, are sufficient evidence of the extremity of his distress. The succours thus earnestly solicited arrived in time, not to quell the Indian insurrection, but to aid him in a struggle quite as formidable with his own countrymen.

It was now August. More than five months had elapsed since the commencement of the siege of Cuzco, yet the Peruvian legions still lay encamped around the city. The siege had been protracted much beyond what was usual in Indian warfare, and shewed the resolution of the natives to exterminate the white men. But the Peruvians themselves had for some time been straitened by the want of provisions. It was no easy matter to feed so numerous a host; and the obvious resource of the magazines of grain, so providently prepared by the Incas, did them but little service, since their contents had been most prodigally used, and even dissipated, by the Spaniards, on their first occupation of the country.† The season for planting had now arrived, and the Inca well knew, that, if his followers were to neglect it, they would be visited by a scourge even more formidable than their

* "E crea V. S° sino somos socorridos re perdera el Cusco, ques la cosa mas señalada é de mas importancia que se puede descubrir, é luego nos perderémos todos; porque somos pocos é tenemos pocas armas, é los Indios estan atrevidos." Carta de Francisco Pizarro á D. Pedro de Alvarado, desde la Ciudad le los Reyes, 29 de Julio, 1536, MS.

† Ondegardo, Rel. Prim. y Seg. MSS.

invaders. Disbanding the greater part of his forces, therefore, he ordered them to withdraw to their homes, and, after the labours of the field were over, to return and resume the blockade of the capital. The Inca reserved a considerable force to attend on his own person, with which he retired to Tambo, a strongly fortified place south of the valley of Yucay, the favourite residence of his ancestors. He also posted a large body as a corps of observation in the environs of Cuzco, to watch the movements of the enemy, and to intercept supplies.

The Spaniards beheld with joy the mighty host, which had so long encompassed the city, now melting away. They were not slow in profiting by the circumstance, and Hernando Pizarro took advantage of the temporary absence to send out foraging parties to scour the country, and bring back supplies to his famishing soldiers. In this he was so successful that on one occasion no less than two thousand head of cattle—the Peruvian sheep—were swept away from the Indian plantations and brought safely to Cuzco.* This placed the army above all apprehensions on the score of want for the present.

Yet these forays were made at the point of the lance, and many a desperate contest ensued, in which the best blood of the Spanish chivalry was shed. The contests, indeed, were not confined to large bodies of troops, but skirmishes took place between smaller parties, which sometimes took the form of personal combats. Nor were the parties so unequally matched as might have been supposed in these single rencontres;

* "Recoximos hasta dos mil cavezas de ganado." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

and the Peruvian warrior, with his sling, his bow, and his *lasso*, proved no contemptible antagonist for the mailed horseman, whom he sometimes even ventured to encounter, hand to hand, with his formidable battle-axe. The ground around Cuzco became a battle-field, like the *vegà* of Granada, in which Christian and Pagan displayed the characteristics of their peculiar warfare; and many a deed of heroism was performed, which wanted only the song of the minstrel to shed around it a glory like that which rested on the last days of the Moslem of Spain.*

But Hernando Pizarro was not content to act wholly on the defensive; and he meditated a bold stroke, by which at once to put an end to the war. This was the capture of the Inca Manco, whom he hoped to surprise in his quarters at Tambo.

For this service he selected about eighty of his best-mounted cavalry, with a small body of foot; and, making a large détour through the less frequented mountain defiles, he arrived before Tambo without alarm to the enemy. He found the place more strongly fortified than he had imagined. The palace, or rather fortress, of the Incas stood on a lofty eminence, the steep sides of which, on the quarter where the Spaniards approached, were cut into terraces, defended by strong walls of stone and sunburnt brick.† The place

* Pedro Pizarro recounts several of these deeds of arms, in some of which his own prowess is made quite apparent. One piece of cruelty recorded by him is little to the credit of his commander, Hernando Pizarro, who, he says, after a desperate rencontre, caused the right hands of his prisoners to be struck off, and sent them in this mutilated condition back to their countrymen! (Descub. y Conq., MS.) Such atrocities are not often noticed by the chroniclers; and we may hope they were exceptions to the general policy of the Conquerors in this invasion.

† "Tambo tan fortalescido que hera cosa de grima, porquel assien-

was impregnable on this side. On the opposite, it looked towards the Yucay, and the ground descended by a gradual declivity towards the plain through which rolled its deep but narrow current.* This was the quarter on which to make the assault.

Crossing the stream without much difficulty, the Spanish commander advanced up the smooth *glacis* with as little noise as possible. The morning light had hardly broken on the mountains; and Pizarro, as he drew near the outer defences, which, as in the fortress of Cuzco, consisted of a stone parapet of great strength drawn round the enclosure, moved quickly forward, confident that the garrison were still buried in sleep. But thousands of eyes were upon him; and as the Spaniards came within bow-shot, a multitude of dark forms suddenly rose above the rampart, while the Inca, with his lance in hand, was seen on horseback in the enclosure, directing the operations of his troops.† At the same moment the air was darkened with innumerable missiles, stones, javelins, and arrows, which fell like a hurricane on the troops, and the mountains rang to the wild war-whoop of the enemy. The Spaniards, taken by surprise, and many of them sorely wounded, were staggered; and, though they quickly rallied, and made two attempts to renew the assault, they were at length obliged to fall back, unable to endure the violence of the storm. To add to their confusion, the lower level in their rear was flooded by

to donde tambo esta es muy fuerte, de andenes muy altos y de muy gran canterias fortalescidos." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

* "El rio de Yucay ques grande por aquella parte va muy angosto y hondo." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

† "Parecia el Inga á caballo entre su gente, con su lança en la mano." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. vii.

the waters, which the natives, by opening the sluices, had diverted from the bed of the river, so that their position was no longer tenable.* A council of war was then held, and it was decided to abandon the attack as desperate, and to retreat in as good order as possible.

The day had been consumed in these ineffectual operations; and Hernando, under cover of the friendly darkness, sent forward his infantry and baggage, taking command of the centre himself, and trusting the rear to his brother Gonzalo. The river was happily re-crossed without accident, although the enemy, now confident in their strength, rushed out of their defences, and followed up the retreating Spaniards, whom they annoyed with repeated discharges of arrows. More than once they pressed so closely on the fugitives, that Gonzalo and his chivalry were compelled to turn and make one of those desperate charges that effectually punished their audacity, and stayed the tide of pursuit. Yet the victorious foe still hung on the rear of the discomfited cavaliers, till they had emerged from the mountain passes, and come within sight of the blackened walls of the capital. It was the last triumph of the Inca.†

* "Pues hechos dos ó tres acometimientos á tomar este pueblo tantas vezes nos hizieron bolver dando de manos. Ansi estuvimos todo este dia hasta puesta de sol; los Indios sin entendello nos hechavan el rrio en el llano donde estavamos, y aguardar mas perescieramos aqui todos." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

† Ibid., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. vii.

Among the manuscripts for which I am indebted to the liberality of that illustrious Spanish scholar, the lamented Navarrete, the most remarkable, in connection with this history, is the work of Pedro Pizarro; *Relaciones del Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reynos del Peru.* But a single copy of this important document appears to have been preserved, the existence of which was but little known till it came into the hands of Señor de Navarrete; though it did not escape the indefatigable researches of Herrera, as is evident from the mention of several incidents, some of them having personal relation to Pedro Pizarro himself, which the historian of the Indies could have derived through no other channel. The manuscript has lately been given to the public as part of the inestimable collection of historical documents now in process of publication at Madrid, under auspices which, we may trust, will insure its success. As the printed work did not reach me till my present labours were far advanced, I have preferred to rely on the manuscript copy for the brief remainder of my narrative, as I had been compelled to do for the previous portion of it.

Nothing, that I am aware of, is known respecting the author, but what is to be gleaned from incidental notices of himself in his own history. He was born at Toledo, in Estremadura, the fruitful province of adventurers to the New World, whence the family of Francis Pizarro, to which Pedro was allied, also emigrated. When that chief came over to undertake the conquest of Peru, after receiving his commission from the emperor in 1529, Pedro Pizarro, then only fifteen years of age, accompanied him in quality of page. For three years he remained attached to the household of his commander, and afterwards continued to follow his banner as a soldier of fortune. He was present at most of the memorable events of the Conquest, and seems to have possessed in a great degree the confidence of his leader, who employed him on some difficult missions, in which he displayed coolness and gallantry. It is true we must take the author's own word for all this. But he tells his exploits with an air of honesty, and without any extraordinary effort to set them off in undue relief. He speaks of himself in the third person, and, as his manuscript was not intended solely for posterity, he would hardly have ventured on great misrepresentation, where fraud could so easily have been exposed.

After the Conquest our author still remained attached to the fortunes of his commander, and stood by him through all the troubles which ensued; and on the assassination of that chief, he withdrew to

Arequipa, to enjoy in quiet the *repartimiento* of lands and Indians, which had been bestowed on him as the recompense of his services. He was there on the breaking out of the great rebellion under Gonzalo Pizarro. But he was true to his allegiance, and chose rather, as he tells us, to be false to his name and his lineage than to his loyalty. Gonzalo, in retaliation, seized his estates, and would have proceeded to still further extremities against him, when Pedro Pizarro had fallen into his hands at Lima, but for the interposition of his lieutenant, the famous Francisco de Carbajal, to whom the chronicler had once the good fortune to render an important service. This Carbajal requited by sparing his life on two occasions; but on the second coolly remarked, "No man has a right to a brace of lives; and if you fall into my hands a third time, God only can grant you another." Happily Pizarro did not find occasion to put this menace to the test. After the pacification of the country he again retired to Arequipa; but, from the querulous tone of his remarks, it would seem he was not fully reinstated in the possessions he had sacrificed by his loyal devotion to government. The last we hear of him is in 1571, the date which he assigns as that of the completion of his history.

Pedro Pizarro's narrative covers the whole ground of the Conquest, from the date of the first expedition that sallied out from Panamá to the troubles that ensued on the departure of President Gasca. The first part of the work was gathered from the testimony of others, and, of course, cannot claim the distinction of rising to the highest class of evidence. But all that follows the return of Francis Pizarro from Castile, all, in short, which constitutes the conquest of the country, may be said to be reported on his own observation, as an eyewitness and an actor, This gives to his narrative a value to which it could have no pretensions on the score of its literary execution. Pizarro was a soldier, with as little education, probably, as usually falls to those who have been trained from youth in this rough school—the most unpropitious in the world to both mental and moral progress. He had the good sense, moreover, not to aspire to an excellence which he could not reach. There is no ambition of fine writing in his chronicle; there are none of those affectations of ornament which only make more glaring the beggarly condition of him who assumes them. His object was simply to tell the story of the Conquest as he had seen it. He was to deal with facts, not with words, which he wisely left to those who came into the field after the labourers had quitted it, to garner up what they could at second hand.

Pizarro's situation may be thought to have necessarily exposed him to party influences, and thus given an undue bias to his narrative. It is not difficult, indeed, to determine under whose banner he had enlisted. He writes like a partisan, and yet like an honest one, who is no further warped from a correct judgment of passing affairs than must necessarily come from preconceived opinions. There is no management to work a conviction in his reader on this side or the other, still less any obvious perversion of fact. He evidently believes what he says, and this is the great point to be desired. We can make allowance for the natural influences of his position. Were he more impartial than this, the critic of the present day, by making allowance for a greater amount of prejudice and partiality, might only be led into error.

Pizarro is not only independent, but occasionally caustic in his condemnation of those under whom he acted. This is particularly the case where their measures bear too unfavourably on his own interests, or those of the army. As to the unfortunate natives, he no more regards their sufferings than the Jews of old did those of the Philistines, whom they considered as delivered up to their swords, and whose lands they regarded as their lawful heritage. There is no mercy shewn by the hard Conqueror in his treatment of the infidel.

Pizarro was the representative of the age in which he lived. Yet it is too much to cast such obloquy on the age. He represented more truly the spirit of the fierce warriors who overturned the dynasty of the Incas. He was not merely a crusader, fighting to extend the empire of the Cross over the darkened heathen. Gold was his great object; the estimate by which he judged of the value of the Conquest; the recompense that he asked for a life of toil and danger. It was with these golden visions, far more than with visions of glory, above all, of celestial glory, that the Peruvian adventurer fed his gross and worldly imagination. Pizarro did not rise above his caste; neither did he rise above it in a mental view any more than in a moral. His history displays no great penetration, or vigour and comprehension of thought. It is the work of a soldier, telling simply his tale of blood. Its value is, that it is told by him who acted it; and this, to the modern compiler, renders it of higher worth than far abler productions at second hand. It is the rude ore, which, submitted to the regular process of purification and refinement, may receive the current stamp that fits it for general circulation.

Another authority, to whom I have occasionally referred, and whose writings still slumber in manuscript, is the Licentiate Fernando Mon-

tesinos. He is, in every respect, the opposite of the military chronicler who has just come under our notice. He flourished about a century after the Conquest. Of course the value of his writings as an authority for historical facts must depend on his superior opportunities for consulting original documents. For this his advantages were great. He was twice sent in an official capacity to Peru, which required him to visit the different parts of the country. These two missions occupied fifteen years; so that, while his position gave him access to the colonial archives and literary repositories, he was enabled to verify his researches, to some extent, by actual observation of the country.

The result was his two historical works, *Memorias Antiguas Historiales del Peru*, and his *Annales*, sometimes cited in these pages. The former is taken up with the early history of the country,—very early, it must be admitted, since it goes back to the Deluge. The first part of this treatise is chiefly occupied with an argument to shew the identity of Peru with the golden Ophir of Solomon's time! This hypothesis, by no means original with the author, may give no unfair notion of the character of his mind. In the progress of his work he follows down the line of Inca princes, whose exploits, and names even, by no means coincide with Garcilasso's catalogue; a circumstance, however, far from establishing their inaccuracy. But one will have little doubt of the writer's title to this reproach, that reads the absurd legends told in the grave tone of reliance by Montesinos, who shared largely in the credulity and the love of the marvellous which belong to an earlier and less enlightened age.

These same traits are visible in his Annals, which are devoted exclusively to the Conquest. Here, indeed, the author, after his cloudy flight, has descended on firm ground, where gross violations of truth, or, at least, of probability, are not to be expected. But any one who has occasion to compare his narrative with that of contemporary writers will find frequent cause to distrust it. Yet Montesinos has one merit. In his extensive researches he became acquainted with original instruments, which he has occasionally transferred to his own pages, and which it would be now difficult to meet elsewhere.

His writings have been commended by some of his learned countrymen, as shewing diligent research and information. My own experience would not assign them a high rank as historical vouchers. They seem to me entitled to little praise, either for the accuracy of their statements, or the sagacity of their reflections. The spirit of cold indifference which they manifest to the sufferings of the natives is an

odious feature, for which there is less apology in a writer of the seventeenth century than in one of the primitive Conquerors, whose passions had been inflamed by long-protracted hostility. M. Ternaux-Compans has translated the *Memorias Antiguas* with his usual elegance and precision, for his collection of original documents relating to the New World. He speaks in the Preface of doing the same kind office to the *Annales* at a future time. I am not aware that he has done this; and I cannot but think that the excellent translator may find a better subject for his labours in some of the rich collection of the Muñoz manuscripts in his possession.

BOOK IV.

CIVIL WARS OF THE CONQUERORS.

CHAPTER I.

Almagro's March to Chili.—Suffering of the Troops.—He returns and seizes Cuzco.—Action of Abancay.—Gaspar de Espinosa.—Almagro leaves Cuzco.—Negotiations with Pizarro.

1535—1537.

WHILE the events recorded in the preceding chapter were passing, the Marshal Almagro was engaged in his memorable expedition to Chili. He had set out, as we have seen, with only part of his forces, leaving his lieutenant to follow him with the remainder. During the first part of the way, he profited by the great military road of the Incas, which stretched across the table-land far towards the south. But as he drew near to Chili, the Spanish commander became entangled in the defiles of the mountains, where no vestige of a road was to be discerned. Here his progress was impeded by all the obstacles which belong to the wild scenery of the Cordilleras; deep and ragged ravines, round whose sides a slender sheep-path wound up to a dizzy height over the precipices below; rivers rushing in fury down the slopes of the mountains, and throwing themselves in stupendous cataracts into the yawning abyss; dark forests of pine that seemed to have no end, and then again long reaches of desolate table-land, without so much as a bush or shrub to shelter the shivering traveller from

the blast that swept down from the frozen summits of the sierra.

The cold was so intense, that many lost the nails of their fingers, their fingers themselves, and sometimes their limbs. Others were blinded by the dazzling waste of snow, reflecting the rays of a sun made intolerably brilliant in the thin atmosphere of these elevated regions. Hunger came, as usual, in the train of woes; for in these dismal solitudes no vegetation that would suffice for the food of man was visible, and no living thing, except only the great bird of the Andes, hovering over their heads in expectation of his banquet. This was too frequently afforded by the number of wretched Indians, who, unable, from the scantiness of their clothing, to encounter the severity of the climate, perished by the way. Such was the pressure of hunger, that the miserable survivors fed on the dead bodies of their countrymen, and the Spaniards forced a similar sustenance from the carcasses of their horses, literally frozen to death in the mountain passes,*—Such were the terrible penalties which Nature imposed on those who rashly intruded on these her solitary and most savage haunts.

Yet their own sufferings do not seem to have touched the hearts of the Spaniards with any feeling of compassion for the weaker natives. Their path was everywhere marked by burnt and desolated hamlets, the inhabitants of which were compelled to do them service as beasts of burden. They were chained together in gangs of ten or twelve, and no infirmity

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. x. cap. i.—iii.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. ix. cap. iv.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

or feebleness of body excused the unfortunate captive from his full share of the common toil, till he sometimes dropped dead, in his very chains, from mere exhaustion! * Alvarado's company are accused of having been more cruel than Pizarro's; and many of Almagro's men, it may be remembered, were recruited from that source. The commander looked with displeasure, it is said, on these enormities, and did what he could to repress them. Yet he did not set a good example in his own conduct, if it be true that he caused no less than thirty Indian chiefs to be burnt alive, for the massacre of three of his followers! † The heart sickens at the recital of such atrocities perpetrated on an unoffending people, or, at least, guilty of no other crime than that of defending their own soil too well.

There is something in the possession of superior strength most dangerous, in a moral view, to its pos-

* Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

The writer must have made one on this expedition, as he speaks from personal observation. The poor natives had at least one friend in the Christian camp. "I si en el Real havia algun Español que era buen rancheador i cruel i matava muchos Indios tenianle por buen hombre i en grand reputacion i el que era inclinado á hacer bien i hacer buenos tratamientos a los naturales i los favorecia no era tenido en tan buena estima, *he apuntado esto que vi con mis ojos i en que por mis pecados anduve* porque entiendan los que esto leyeren que de la manera que aqui digo i con mayores crueldades harto se hizo esta jornada i descubrimiento de Chile."

† "I para castigarlos por la muerte desto tres Españoles juntolos en un aposento donde estava aposentado i mandó cavalgar la jente de cavallo i la de apie que guardasen las puertas i todos estuviesen apercividos i los prendio i en conclusion hizo quemar mas de 30 señores vivos atados cada uno a su palo." (Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.) Oviedo, who always shews the hard feeling of the colonist, excuses this on the old plea of necessity—*fue necesario este castigo*—and adds, that after this a Spaniard might send a messenger from one end of the country to the other, without fear of injury. Hist. de las Indias, MS. parte iii. lib. ix. cap. iv.

sessor. Brought in contact with semi-civilized man, the European, with his endowments and effective force so immeasurably superior, holds him as little higher than the brute, and as born equally for his service. He feels that he has a natural right, as it were, to his obedience, and that this obedience is to be measured, not by the powers of the barbarian, but by the will of his conqueror. Resistance becomes a crime to be washed out only in the blood of the victim. The tale of such atrocities is not confined to the Spaniard. Wherever the civilized man and the savage have come in contact, in the East or in the West, the story has been too often written in blood.

From the wild chaos of mountain scenery the Spaniards emerged on the green vale of Coquimbo, about the thirtieth degree of south latitude. Here they halted to refresh themselves in its abundant plains, after their unexampled sufferings and fatigues. Meanwhile Almagro despatched an officer with a strong party in advance, to ascertain the character of the country towards the south. Not long after, he was cheered by the arrival of the remainder of his forces under his lieutenant Rodrigo de Orgoñez. This was a remarkable person, and intimately connected with the subsequent fortunes of Almagro.

He was a native of Oropesa, had been trained in the Italian wars, and held the rank of ensign in the army of the Constable of Bourbon at the famous sack of Rome. It was a good school in which to learn his iron trade, and to steel the heart against any too ready sensibility to human suffering. Orgoñez was an excellent soldier; true to his commander, prompt, fearless and unflinching in the execution of his orders.

His services attracted the notice of the Crown, and, shortly after this period, he was raised to the rank of Marshal of New Toledo. Yet it may be doubted whether his character did not qualify him for an executive and subordinate station, rather than for one of higher responsibility.

Almagro received also the royal warrant, conferring on him his new powers and territorial jurisdiction. The instrument had been detained by the Pizarros to the very last moment. His troops, long since disgusted with their toilsome and unprofitable march, were now clamorous to return. Cuzco, they said, undoubtedly fell within the limits of his government, and it was better to take possession of its comfortable quarters than to wander like outcasts in this dreary wilderness. They reminded their commander that thus only could he provide for the interests of his son Diego. This was an illegitimate son of Almagro, on whom his father doted with extravagant fondness, justified more than usual by the promising character of the youth.

After an absence of about two months, the officer sent on the exploring expedition returned, bringing unpromising accounts of the southern regions of Chili. The only land of promise for the Castilian was one that teemed with gold.* He had penetrated to the distance of a hundred leagues, to the limits, probably, of the conquests of the Incas on the river Maule.†

* It is the language of a Spaniard: "i como no le parecio bien la tierra por no ser quajada de oro." Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

† According to Oviedo, a hundred and fifty leagues, and very near, as they told him, to the end of the world—*cerca del fin del mundo.* (Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. ix. cap. v.) One must not expect to meet with very accurate notions of geography in the rude soldiers of America.

The Spaniards had fortunately stopped short of the land of Arauco, where the blood of their countrymen was soon after to be poured out like water, and which still maintains a proud independence amidst the general humiliation of the Indian races around it.

Almagro now yielded, with little reluctance, to the renewed importunities of the soldiers, and turned his face towards the north. It is unnecessary to follow his march in detail. Disheartened by the difficulty of the mountain passage, he took the road along the coast, which led him across the great desert of Atacama. In crossing this dreary waste, which stretches for nearly a hundred leagues to the northern borders of Chili, with hardly a green spot in its expanse to relieve the fainting traveller, Almagro and his men experienced as great sufferings, though not of the same kind, as those which they had encountered in the passes of the Cordilleras. Indeed, the captain would not easily be found at this day, who would venture to lead his army across this dreary region. But the Spaniard of the sixteenth century had a strength of limb and a buoyancy of spirit which raised him to a contempt of obstacles, almost justifying the boast of the historian, that "he contended indifferently, at the same time, with man, with the elements, and with famine!"*

After traversing the terrible desert, Almagro reached the ancient town of Arequipa, about sixty leagues from Cuzco. Here he learned with astonishment the insurrection of the Peruvians, and, further, that the young Inca Manco still lay with a formidable force at

* "Peleando en un tiempo con los enemigos, con los elementos, i con la hambre." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. v. lib. x. cap. ii.

no great distance from the capital. He had once been on friendly terms with the Peruvian prince, and he now resolved, before proceeding further, to send an embassy to his camp, and arrange an interview with him in the neighbourhood of Cuzco.

Almagro's emissaries were well received by the Inca, who alleged his grounds of complaint against the Pizarros, and named the vale of Yucay as the place where he would confer with the marshal. The Spanish commander accordingly resumed his march, and, taking one half of his force, whose whole number fell somewhat short of five hundred men, he repaired in person to the place of rendezvous, while the remainder of his army established their quarters at Urcos, about six leagues from the capital.*

The Spaniards in Cuzco, startled by the appearance of this fresh body of troops in their neighbourhood, doubted, when they learned the quarter whence they came, whether it betided them good or evil. Hernando Pizarro marched out of the city with a small force, and, drawing near to Urcos, heard with no little uneasiness of Almagro's purpose to insist on his pretensions to Cuzco. Though much inferior in strength to his rival, he determined to resist him.

Meanwhile, the Peruvians, who had witnessed the conference between the soldiers of the opposite camps, suspected some secret understanding between the parties, which would compromise the safety of the Inca. They communicated their distrust to Manco, and the latter, adopting the same sentiments, or perhaps, from

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub.o y Conq., MS. — Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. ix. cap. vi.

the first, meditating a surprise of the Spaniards, suddenly fell upon the latter in the valley of Yucay with a body of fifteen thousand men. But the veterans of Chili were too familiar with Indian tactics to be taken by surprise. And though a sharp engagement ensued, which lasted more than an hour, in which Orgoñez had a horse killed under him, the natives were finally driven back with great slaughter, and the Inca was so far crippled by the blow, that he was not likely for the present to give further molestation.*

Almagro, now joining the division left at Urcos, saw no further impediment to his operations on Cuzco. He sent, at once, an embassy to the municipality of the place, requiring the recognition of him as its lawful governor, and presenting at the same time a copy of his credentials from the Crown. But the question of jurisdiction was not one easy to be settled, depending, as it did, on a knowledge of the true parallels of latitude, not very likely to be possessed by the rude followers of Pizarro. The royal grant had placed under his jurisdiction all the country extending two hundred and seventy leagues south of the river of Santiago, situated one degree and twenty minutes north of the equator. Two hundred and seventy leagues on the meridian, by our measurement, would fall more than a degree short of Cuzco, and, indeed, would barely include the city of Lima itself. But the Spanish leagues, of only seventeen and a half to a degree,† would remove the southern boundary to nearly half a

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iii. cap. iv.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS., parte iii. lib. viii. cap. xxi.

† "Contando diez i siete leguas i media por grado." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. iii. cap. v.

degree beyond the capital of the Incas, which would thus fall within the jurisdiction of Pizarro.* Yet the division-line ran so close to the disputed ground, that the true result might reasonably be doubted, where no careful scientific observations had been made to obtain it; and each party was prompt to assert, as they always are in such cases, that its own claim was clear and unquestionable.†

Thus summoned by Almagro, the authorities of Cuzco, unwilling to give umbrage to either of the contending chiefs, decided that they must wait until they could take counsel—which they promised to do at once — with certain pilots better instructed than themselves in the position of the Santiago. Meanwhile, a truce was arranged between the parties, each solemnly engaging to abstain from hostile measures, and to remain quiet in their present quarters.

The weather now set in cold and rainy. Almagro's soldiers, greatly discontented with their position, flooded as it was by the waters, were quick to discover that Hernando Pizarro was busily employed in strengthening himself in the city, contrary to agree-

* The government had endeavoured early to provide against any dispute in regard to the limits of the respective jurisdictions. The language of the original grants gave room to some misunderstanding; and, as early as 1536, Fray Jomás de Berlanga, Bishop of Tierra Firme, had been sent to Lima with full powers to determine the question of boundary, by fixing the latitude of the river of Santiago, and measuring two hundred and seventy leagues south on the meridian. But Pizarro, having engaged Almagro in his Chili expedition, did not care to revive the question, and the Bishop returned, *re infectâ*, to his diocese, with strong feelings of disgust towards the governor. Herrera, Hist. Gen., dec. vi. lib. iii. cap. i.

† "All say," says Oviedo, in a letter to the Emperor, "that Cuzco falls within the territory of Almagro." Oviedo was, probably, the best-informed man in the colonies. Yet this was an error. Carta desde Sto. Domingo, MS., 25 de Oct. 1539.

ment. They also learned with dismay that a large body of men, sent by the governor from Lima, under command of Alonso de Alvarado, was on the march to relieve Cuzco. They exclaimed that they were betrayed, and that the truce had been only an artifice to secure their inactivity until the arrival of the expected succours. In this state of excitement, it was not very difficult to persuade their commander—too ready to surrender his own judgment to the rash advisers around him—to violate the treaty, and take possession of the capital.*

Under cover of a dark and stormy night (April 8th, 1537), he entered the place without opposition, made himself master of the principal church, established strong parties of cavalry at the head of the great avenues to prevent surprise, and detached Orgoñez with a body of infantry to force the dwelling of Hernando Pizarro. That captain was lodged with his brother Gonzalo in one of the large halls built by the Incas for public diversions, with immense doors of entrance that opened on the *plaza*. It was garrisoned by about twenty soldiers, who, as the gates were burst open, stood stoutly to the defence of their leader. A smart struggle ensued, in which some lives were lost, till at length Orgoñez, provoked by the obstinate resistance, set fire to the combustible roof of the building. It was speedily in flames, and the burning rafters falling on the heads of the inmates, they forced their reluctant leader to an unconditional surrender. Scarcely

* According to Zarate, Almagro, on entering the capital, found no appearance of the designs imputed to Hernando, and exclaimed that "he had been deceived." (Conq. del Peru, lib. iii. cap. iv.) He was probably easy of faith in the matter.

had the Spaniards left the building, when the whole roof fell in with a tremendous crash.*

Almagro was now master of Cuzco. He ordered the Pizarros, with fifteen or twenty of the principal cavaliers, to be secured and placed in confinement. Except so far as required for securing his authority he does not seem to have been guilty of acts of violence to the inhabitants,† and he installed one of Pizarro's most able officers, Gabriel de Rojas, in the government of the city. The municipality, whose eyes were now open to the validity of Almagro's pretensions, made no further scruple to recognize his title to Cuzco.

The marshal's first step was to send a message to Alonso de Alvarado's camp, advising that officer of his occupation of the city, and requiring his obedience to him as its legitimate master. Alvarado was lying, with a body of five hundred men, horse and foot, at Xauxa, about thirteen leagues from the capital. He had been detached several months previously for the relief of Cuzco; but had, most unaccountably, and, as it proved, most unfortunately for the Peruvian capital, remained at Xauxa, with the alleged motive of protecting that settlement and the surrounding country against the insurgents.‡ He now shewed himself loyal to his

* Carta de Espinall, Tesorero de N. Toledo, 15 de Junio, 1539.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. viii. cap. xxi.

† So it would appear from the general testimony; yet Pedro Pizarro, one of the opposite faction, and among those imprisoned by Almagro, complains that that chief plundered them of their horses and other property. Descub. y Conq., MS.

‡ Pizarro's secretary, Picado, had an *encomienda* in that neighbourhood, and Alvarado, who was under personal obligations to him, remained there, it is said, at his instigation. (Herrera, Hist. Ge-

commander; and, when Almagro's ambassadors reached his camp, he put them in irons, and sent advice of what had been done to the governor at Lima.

Almagro, offended by the detention of his emissaries, prepared at once to march against Alonso de Alvarado, and take more effectual means to bring him to submission. His lieutenant, Orgoñez, strongly urged him before his departure to strike off the heads of the Pizarros, alleging, "that, while they lived, his commander's life would never be safe;" and concluding with the Spanish proverb, "Dead men never bite."* But the marshal, though he detested Hernando in his heart, shrunk from so violent a measure; and, independently of other considerations, he had still an attachment for his old associate, Francis Pizarro, and was unwilling to sever the ties between them for ever. Contenting himself, therefore, with placing his prisoners under strong guard in one of the stone buildings belonging to the House of the Sun, he put himself at the head of his forces, and left the capital in quest of Alvarado.

That officer had now taken up a position on the farther side of the *Rio de Abancay*, where he lay, with the strength of his little army, in front of a bridge, by which its rapid waters are traversed, while a strong detachment occupied a spot commanding a ford lower down the river. But in this detachment was a cavalier of much consideration in the army, Pedro de Lerma, who, from some pique against his commander,

neral, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. vii.) Alvarado was a good officer, and largely trusted, both before and after, by the Pizarros; and we may presume there was some explanation of his conduct, of which we are not possessed.

* "El muerto no mordia." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. ii. cap. viii.

had entered into treasonable correspondence with the opposite party. By his advice, Almagro, on reaching the border of the river, established himself against the bridge in face of Alvarado, as if prepared to force a passage, thus concentrating his adversary's attention on that point. But, when darkness had set in, he detached a large body under Orgoñez to pass the ford, and operate in concert with Lerma. Orgoñez executed this commission with his usual promptness. The ford was crossed, though the current ran so swiftly, that several of his men were swept away by it, and perished in the waters. Their leader received a severe wound himself in the mouth as he was gaining the opposite bank, but, nothing daunted, he cheered on his men, and fell with fury on the enemy. He was speedily joined by Lerma, and such of the soldiers as he had gained over, and, unable to distinguish friend from foe, the enemy's confusion was complete.

Meanwhile, Alvarado, roused by the noise of the attack on this quarter, hastened to the support of his officer, when Almagro, seizing the occasion, pushed across the bridge, dispersed the small body left to defend it, and, falling on Alvarado's rear, that general saw himself hemmed in on all sides. The struggle did not last long; and the unfortunate chief, uncertain on whom he could rely, surrendered with all his force,—those only excepted who had already deserted to the enemy. Such was the battle of Abancay, as it was called, from the river on whose banks it was fought, on the 12th of July, 1537. Never was a victory more complete, or achieved with less cost of life; and Almagro marched back, with an array of prisoners

scarcely inferior to his own army in number, in triumph to Cuzco.*

While the events related in the preceding pages were passing, Francisco Pizarro had remained at Lima, anxiously awaiting the arrival of the reinforcements which he had requested, to enable him to march to the relief of the beleaguered capital of the Incas. His appeal had not been unanswered. Among the rest was a corps of two hundred and fifty men, led by the Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa, one of the three original associates, it may be remembered, who engaged in the conquest of Peru: He had now left his own residence at Panamá, and came in person, for the first time, it would seem, to revive the drooping fortunes of his confederates. Pizarro received also a vessel laden with provisions, military stores, and other necessary supplies, besides a rich wardrobe for himself, from Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, who generously stretched forth his hand to aid his kinsman in the hour of need.†

With a force amounting to four hundred and fifty men, half of them cavalry, the governor quitted Lima, and began his march on the Inca capital. He had not advanced far, when he received tidings of the return of Almagro, the seizure of Cuzco, and the imprisonment of his brothers; and, before he had time to recover from this astounding intelligence, he learned the total defeat and capture of Alvarado. Filled with conster-

* Carta de Francisco Pizarro al Obispo de Tierra Firme, MS., 28 de Agosto, 1539.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, MS., ubi supra.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Carta de Espinall, MS.

† "Fernando Cortés embió con Rodrigo de Grijalva en vn proprio navio suio, desde la Nueva España, muchas armas, tiros, jaeces, adereços, vestidos de seda, i vna ropa de martas." Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxxxvi.

nation at these rapid successes of his rival, he now returned in all haste to Lima, which he put in the best posture of defence, to secure it against the hostile movements, not unlikely, as he thought, to be directed against that capital itself. Meanwhile, far from indulging in impotent sallies of resentment, or in complaints of his ancient comrade, he only lamented that Almagro should have resorted to these violent measures for the settlement of their dispute, and this less —if we may take his word for it—from personal considerations than from the prejudice it might do to the interests of the Crown.*

But, while busily occupied with warlike preparations, he did not omit to try the effect of negotiation. He sent an embassy to Cuzco, consisting of several persons in whose discretion he placed the greatest confidence, with Espinosa at their head, as the party most interested in an amicable arrangement.

The licentiate, on his arrival, did not find Almagro in as favourable a mood for an accommodation as he could have wished. Elated by his recent successes, he now aspired not only to the possession of Cuzco, but of Lima itself, as falling within the limits of his jurisdiction. It was in vain that Espinosa urged the propriety, by every argument which prudence could suggest, of moderating his demands. His claims upon Cuzco, at least, were not to be shaken, and he declared himself ready to peril his life in maintaining them. The licentiate coolly replied by quoting the pithy Castilian proverb, *El vencido vencido, y el vencidor perdido*: "The vanquished vanquished, and the victor undone."

What influence the temperate arguments of the

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. ii. cap. vii.

licentiate might eventually have had on the heated imagination of the soldier is doubtful; but unfortunately for the negotiation it was abruptly terminated by the death of Espinosa himself, which took place most unexpectedly, though, strange to say, in those times, without the imputation of poison.* He was a great loss to the parties in the existing fermentation of their minds; for he had the weight of character which belongs to wise and moderate counsels, and a deeper interest than any other man in recommending them.

The name of Espinosa is memorable in history from his early connexion with the expedition to Peru, which, but for the seasonable, though secret, application of his funds, could not then have been compassed. He had long been a resident in the Spanish colonies of Tierra Firme and Panamá, where he had served in various capacities, sometimes as a legal functionary presiding in the courts of justice,† and not unfrequently as an efficient leader in the early expeditions of conquest and discovery. In these manifold vocations he acquired high reputation for probity, intelligence, and courage, and his death at the present crisis was undoubtedly the most unfortunate event that could befall the country.

All attempt at negotiation was now abandoned; and

* Carta de Pizarro al Obispo de Tierra Firme, MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. ii. cap. xiii.—Carta de Espinall, MS.

† He incurred some odium as presiding officer in the trial and condemnation of the unfortunate Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. But it must be allowed, that he made great efforts to resist the tyrannical proceedings of Pedrarias, and he earnestly recommended the prisoner to mercy. See Herrera, Hist. General, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xxi. xxii.

Almagro announced his purpose to descend to the sea-coast, where he could plant a colony and establish a port for himself. This would secure him the means so essential of communication with the mother country, and here he would resume negotiations for the settlement of his dispute with Pizarro. Before quitting Cuzco he sent Orgoñez with a strong force against the Inca, not caring to leave the capital exposed in his absence to further annoyance from that quarter.

But the Inca, discouraged by his late discomfiture, and unable, perhaps, to rally in sufficient strength for resistance, abandoned his stronghold at Tambo, and retreated across the mountains. He was hotly pursued by Orgoñez over hill and valley, till, deserted by his followers, and with only one of his wives to bear him company, the royal fugitive took shelter in the remote fastnesses of the Andes.*

Before leaving the capital, Orgoñez again urged his commander to strike off the heads of the Pizarros, and then march at once upon Lima. By this decisive step he would bring the war to an issue, and for ever secure himself from the insidious machinations of his enemies. But, in the meantime, a new friend had risen up to the captive brothers. This was Diego de Alvarado, brother of that Pedro, who, as mentioned in a preceding chapter, had conducted the unfortunate expedition to Quito. After his brother's departure, Diego had attached himself to the fortunes of Almagro, had accompanied him to Chili, and, as he was a cavalier of birth, and possessed of some truly noble qualities, he had gained deserved ascendency over his commander. Alvarado had frequently visited Her-

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.

nando Pizarro in his confinement, where, to beguile the tediousness of captivity, he amused himself with gaming —the passion of the Spaniard. They played deep, and Alvarado lost the enormous sum of eighty thousand gold castellanos. He was prompt in paying the debt, but Hernando Pizarro peremptorily declined to receive the money. By this politic generosity he secured an important advocate in the council of Almagro. It stood him now in good stead. Alvarado represented to the marshal that such a measure as that urged by Orgoñez would not only outrage the feelings of his followers, but would ruin his fortunes by the indignation it must excite at Court. When Almagro acquiesced in these views, as in truth most grateful to his own nature, Orgoñez, chagrined at his determination, declared that the day would come when he would repent this mistaken lenity. "A Pizarro," he said, "was never known to forget an injury; and that which they had already received from Almagro was too deep for them to forgive." Prophetic words!

On leaving Cuzco the marshal gave orders that Gonzalo Pizarro and the other prisoners should be detained in strict custody. Hernando he took with him, closely guarded, on his march. Descending rapidly towards the coast, he reached the pleasant vale of Chincha in the latter part of August. Here he occupied himself with laying the foundations of a town bearing his own name, which might serve as a counterpart to the City of the Kings,—thus bidding defiance, as it were, to his rival on his own borders. While occupied in this manner, he received the unwelcome tidings that Gonzalo Pizarro, Alonso de Alvarado, and the other prisoners, having tampered with their guards, had effected

their escape from Cuzco, and he soon after heard of their safe arrival in the camp of Pizarro.

Chafed by this intelligence, the marshal was not soothed by the insinuations of Orgoñez, that it was owing to his ill-advised lenity; and it might have gone hard with Hernando, but that Almagro's attention was diverted by the negotiation which Francisco Pizarro now proposed to resume.

After some correspondence between the parties, it was agreed to submit the arbitration of the dispute to a single individual, Fray Francisco de Bovadilla, a brother of the order of Mercy. Though living in Lima, and, as might be supposed, under the influence of Pizarro, he had a reputation for integrity that disposed Almagro to confide the settlement of the question exclusively to him. In this implicit confidence in the friar's impartiality, Orgoñez, of a less sanguine temper than his chief, did not participate.*

An interview was arranged between the rival chiefs. It took place at Mala, November 13th, 1537; but very different was the deportment of the two commanders towards each other from that which they had exhibited at their former meetings. Almagro, indeed, doffing his bonnet, advanced in his usual open manner to salute his ancient comrade; but Pizarro, hardly condescending to return the salute, haughtily demanded why the marshal had seized upon his city of Cuzco, and imprisoned his brothers. This led to a recrimination on the part of his associate. The dis-

* Carta de Gutierrez al Emperador, MS., 10 de Feb. 1539.—Carta de Espinall, MS.—Oviedo, Hist. de las Ind., MS., ubi supra.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. ii. cap. viii.—xiv.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iii. cap. viii.—Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.

cussion assumed the tone of an angry altercation, till Almagro, taking a hint—or what he conceived to be such—from an attendant, that some treachery was intended, abruptly quitted the apartment, mounted his horse, and galloped back to his quarters at Chincha.* The conference closed, as might have been anticipated from the heated temper of their minds when they began it, by widening the breach it was intended to heal. The friar, now left wholly to himself, after some deliberation gave his award. He decided that a vessel, with a skilful pilot on board, should be sent to determine the exact latitude of the river of Santiago, the northern boundary of Pizarro's territory, by which all the measurements were to be regulated. In the meantime Cuzco was to be delivered up by Almagro, and Hernando Pizarro to be set at liberty, on condition of his leaving the country in six weeks for Spain. Both parties were to retire within their undisputed territories, and to abandon all further hostilities.†

This award, as may be supposed, highly satisfactory to Pizarro, was received by Almagro's men with indignation and scorn. They had been sold, they cried, by

* It was said that Gonzalo Pizarro lay in ambush with a strong force in the neighbourhood to intercept the marshal, and that the latter was warned of his danger by an honourable cavalier of the opposite party, who repeated a distich of an old ballad—

"Tiempo es el caballero,
Tiempo es de andar de aqui."

(Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. iii. cap. iv.) Pedro Pizarro admits the truth of the design imputed to Gonzalo, which he was prevented from putting into execution by the commands of the governor, who, the chronicler, with edifying simplicity, or assurance, informs us, was a man that scrupulously kept his word. "Porque el Marquez Don Francisco Piçarro hera hombre que guardava mucho su palabra." Descub. y Conq., MS.

† Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Espinall, MS.

their general, broken, as he was, by age and infirmities. Their enemies were to occupy Cuzco and its pleasant places, while they were to be turned over to the barren wilderness of Charcas. Little did they dream that under this poor exterior were hidden the rich treasures of Potosí. They denounced the umpire as a hireling of the governor, and murmurs were heard among the troops, stimulated by Orgoñez, demanding the head of Hernando. Never was that cavalier in greater danger. But his good genius in the form of Alvarado again interposed to protect him. His life in captivity was a succession of reprieves.*

Yet his brother, the governor, was not disposed to abandon him to his fate. On the contrary, he was now prepared to make every concession to secure his freedom. Concessions, that politic chief well knew, cost little to those who are not concerned to abide by them. After some preliminary negotiation, another award, more equitable, or, at all events, more to the satisfaction of the discontented party, was given. The principal articles of it were, that until the arrival of some definitive instructions on the point from Castile, the city of Cuzco, with its territory, should remain in the hands of Almagro; and that Hernando Pizarro should be set at liberty, on the condition, above stipulated, of leaving the country in six weeks.—When the terms of this agreement were communicated to Orgoñez, that officer intimated his opinion of them,

* Espinall, Almagro's treasurer, denounces the friar "as proving himself a very devil" by this award. (Carta el Emperador, MS.) And Oviedo, a more dispassionate judge, quotes, without condemning, a cavalier who told the father, that a "sentence so unjust had not been pronounced since the time of Pontius Pilate!" Hist. de las Indias, MS., parte iii. lib. viii. cap. xxi.

by passing his fingers across his throat, and exclaiming, "What has my fidelity to my commander cost me!"*

Almagro, in order to do greater honour to his prisoner, visited him in person, and announced to him that he was from that moment free. He expressed a hope, at the same time, that "all past differences would be buried in oblivion, and that henceforth they should live only in the recollection of their ancient friendship." Hernando replied, with apparent cordiality, that "he desired nothing better for himself." He then swore in the most solemn manner, and pledged his knightly honour,—the latter, perhaps, a pledge of quite as much weight in his own mind as the former,—that he would faithfully comply with the terms stipulated in the treaty. He was next conducted by the marshal to his quarters, where he partook of a collation in company with the principal officers; several of whom, together with Diego Almagro, the general's son, afterwards escorted the cavalier to his brother's camp, which had been transferred to the neighbouring town of Mala. Here the party received a most cordial greeting from the governor, who entertained them with a courtly hospitality, and lavished many attentions, in particular, on the son of his ancient associate. In short, such, on their return, was the account of their reception, that it left no doubt in the mind of Almagro that all was at length amicably settled.†—He did not know Pizarro.

* "I tomando la barba con la mano izquierda, con la derecha hiço señal de cortarse la cabeça, diciendo: Orgoñez, Orgoñez, por el amistad de Don Diego de Almagro te han de cortar esta." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. iii. cap. ix.

† Ibid., loc. cit.—Carta de Gutierrez, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iii. cap. ix.

CHAPTER II.

First Civil War.—Almagro retreats to Cuzco.—Battle of Las Salinas.—Cruelty of the Conquerors.—Trial and Execution of Almagro.—His Character.

1537, 1538.

SCARCELY had Almagro's officers left the governor's quarters, when the latter, calling his little army together, briefly recapitulated the many wrongs which had been done him by his rival, the seizure of his capital, the imprisonment of his brothers, the assault and defeat of his troops; and he concluded with the declaration,—heartily echoed back by his military audience,—that the time had now come for revenge. All the while that the negotiations were pending, Pizarro had been busily occupied with military preparations. He had mustered a force considerably larger than that of his rival, drawn from various quarters, but most of them familiar with service. He now declared, that, as he was too old to take charge of the campaign himself, he should devolve that duty on his brothers; and he released Hernando from all his engagements to Almagro, as a measure justified by necessity. That cavalier, with graceful pertinacity, intimated his design to abide by the pledges he had given, but, at, length, yielded a reluctant assent to the commands of his

brother, as to a measure imperatively demanded by his duty to the Crown.*

The governor's next step was to advise Almagro that the treaty was at an end. At the same time, he warned him to relinquish his pretensions to Cuzco, and withdraw into his own territory, or the responsibility of the consequences would lie on his own head.

Reposing in his false security, Almagro was now fully awakened to the consciousness of the error he had committed; and the warning voice of his lieutenant may have risen to his recollection. The first part of the prediction was fulfilled. And what should prevent the latter from being so? To add to his distress, he was labouring at this time under a grievous malady, the result of early excesses, which shattered his constitution, and made him incapable alike of mental and bodily exertion.†

In this forlorn condition, he confided the management of his affairs to Orgoñez, on whose loyalty and courage he knew he might implicitly rely. The first step was to secure the passes of the Guaitara, a chain of hills that hemmed in the valley of Zangalla, where Almagro was at present established. But, by some miscalculation, the passes were not secured in season; and the active enemy, threading the dangerous defiles, effected a passage across the sierra, where a much inferior force to his own might have taken him

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. iii. cap. x.

† "Cayó enfermo i estuvo malo a punto de muerte de bubas i dolores." (Carta de Espinall, MS.) It was a hard penalty, occurring at this crisis, for the sins, perhaps, of earlier days; but

"The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
Make instruments to scourge us."

at advantage. The fortunes of Almagro were on the wane.

His thoughts were now turned towards Cuzco, and he was anxious to get possession of this capital before the arrival of the enemy. Too feeble to sit on horseback, he was obliged to be carried in a litter; and, when he reached the ancient town of Bilcas, not far from Guamanga, his indisposition was so severe that he was compelled to halt and remain there three weeks before resuming his march.

The governor and his brothers, in the mean time, after traversing the pass of Guaitara, descended into the valley of Ica, where Pizarro remained a considerable while, to get his troops into order and complete his preparations for the campaign. Then, taking leave of the army, he returned to Lima, committing the prosecution of the war, as he had before announced, to his younger and more active brothers. Hernando, soon after quitting Ica, kept along the coast as far as Nasca, proposing to penetrate the country by a circuitous route in order to elude the enemy, who might have greatly embarrassed him in some of the passes of the Cordilleras. But unhappily for him, this plan of operations, which would have given him such manifest advantage, was not adopted by Almagro; and his adversary, without any other impediment than than that arising from the natural difficulties of the march, arrived, in the latter part of April, 1538, in the neighbourhood of Cuzco.

But Almagro was already in possession of that capital, which he had reached ten days before. A council of war was held by him respecting the course to be pursued. Some were for making good the de-

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fence of the city. Almagro would have tried what could be done by negotiation. But Orgoñez bluntly replied—"It is too late; you have liberated Hernando Pizarro, and nothing remains but to fight him." The opinion of Orgoñez finally prevailed, to march out and give the enemy battle on the plains. The marshal, still disabled by illness from taking the command, devolved it on his trusty lieutenant, who, mustering his forces, left the city, and took up a position at Las Salinas, less than a league distant from Cuzco. The place received its name from certain pits or vats in the ground, used for the preparation of salt, that was obtained from a natural spring in the neighbourhood. It was an injudicious choice of ground, since its broken character was most unfavourable to the free action of cavalry, in which the strength of Almagro's force consisted. But, although repeatedly urged by the officers to advance into the open country, Orgoñez persisted in his position, as the most favourable for defence, since the front was protected by a marsh, and by a little stream that flowed over the plain. His forces amounted in all to about five hundred, more than half of them horse. His infantry was deficient in fire-arms, the place of which was supplied by the long pike. He had also six small cannon, or falconets, as they were called, which, with his cavalry, formed into two equal divisions, he disposed on the flanks of his infantry. Thus prepared, he calmly awaited the approach of the enemy.

It was not long before the bright arms and banners of the Spaniards under Hernando Pizarro were seen emerging from the mountain passes. The troops came forward in good order, and like men whose

steady step shewed that they had been spared in the march, and were now fresh for action. They advanced slowly across the plain, and halted on the opposite border of the little stream which covered the front of Orgoñez. Here Hernando, as the sun had set, took up his quarters for the night, proposing to defer the engagement till daylight.*

The rumours of the approaching battle had spread far and wide over the country; and the mountains and rocky heights around were thronged with multitudes of natives, eager to feast their eyes on a spectacle, where, whichever side were victorious, the defeat would fall on their enemies.† The Castilian women and children, too, with still deeper anxiety, had thronged out from Cuzco to witness the deadly strife in which brethren and kindred were to contend for mastery.‡ The whole number of the combatants was insignificant; though not as compared with those usually engaged in these American wars. It is not, however, the number of the players, but the magnitude of the stake, that gives importance and interest to the game; and in this bloody game, they were to play for the possession of an empire.

The night passed away in silence, unbroken by the vast assembly which covered the surrounding hill-tops. Nor did the soldiers of the hostile camps, although keeping watch within hearing of one another, and with the same blood flowing in their veins, at-

* Carta de Gutierrez, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. iv. cap. i.—v.—Carta de Espinall, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iii. cap. x. xi.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xxxvi. xxxvii.

† Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. iv. cap. v. vi.

‡ Ibid., ubi supra.

tempt any communication. So deadly was the hate in their bosoms!*

The sun rose bright, as usual in this beautiful climate, on Saturday, the 26th day of April, 1538.† But long before his beams were on the plain, the trumpet of Hernando Pizarro had called his men to arms. His forces amounted in all to about seven hundred. They were drawn from various quarters, the veterans of Pizarro, the followers of Alonso de Alvarado,—many of whom, since their defeat, had found their way back to Lima,—and the late reinforcement from the isles, most of them seasoned by many a toilsome march in the Indian campaigns, and many a hard-fought field. His mounted troops were inferior to those of Almagro; but this was more than compensated by the strength of his infantry, comprehending a well-trained corps of arquebusiers, sent from St. Domingo, whose weapons were of the improved construction recently introduced from Flanders. They were of a large calibre, and threw double-headed shot, consisting of bullets linked together by an iron chain. It was, doubtless, a clumsy weapon compared with modern fire-arms, but, in hands accustomed to wield it, proved a destructive instrument.‡

* "I fue cosa de notar, que se estuvieron todo la noche, sin que nadie de la vna i otra parte pensase en mover tratos de paz: tanta era la ira i aborrecimiento de ambas partes." Ibid., cap. vi.

† A church dedicated to St. Lazarus was afterwards erected on the battle-ground, and the bodies of those slain in the action were interred within its walls. This circumstance leads Garcilasso to suppose that the battle took place on Saturday, the 6th,—the day after the Feast of Saint Lazarus,—and not on the 26th of April, as commonly reported. Com. Real., parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xxxviii. See also Montesinos, (Annales, MS., año 1538,) an indifferent authority for anything.

‡ Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iii. cap. viii.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xxxvi.

Hernando Pizarro drew up his men in the same order of battle as that presented by the enemy,—throwing his infantry into the centre, and disposing his horse on the flanks; one corps of which he placed under command of Alonso de Alvarado, and took charge of the other himself. The infantry was headed by his brother Gonzalo, supported Pedro de Valdivia, the future hero of Arauco, whose disastrous story forms the burden of romance as well as of chronicle.*

Mass was said, as if the Spaniards were about to fight what they deemed the good fight of the faith, instead of imbruing their hands in the blood of their countrymen. Hernando Pizarro then made a brief address to his soldiers. He touched on the personal injuries he and his family had received from Almagro; reminded his brother's veterans that Cuzco had been wrested from their possession; called up the glow of shame on the brows of Alvarado's men as he talked of the rout of Abancay, and, pointing out the Inca metropolis that sparkled in the morning sunshine, he told them that there was the prize of the victor. They answered his appeal with acclamations; and the signal being given, Gonzalo Pizarro, heading his battalion of infantry, led it straight across the river. The water was neither broad nor deep, and the soldiers found no difficulty in gaining a landing, as the enemy's horse was prevented by the marshy ground from approaching the borders. But, as they

* The Araucana of Ercilla may claim the merit, indeed—if it be a merit—of combining both romance and history in one. Surely never did the Muse venture on such a specification of details, not merely poetical, but political, geographical, and statistical, as in this celebrated Castilian epic. It is a military journal done into rhyme.

worked their way across the morass, the heavy guns of Orgoñez played with effect on the leading files, and threw them into disorder. Gonzalo and Valdivia threw themselves into the midst of their followers, menacing some, encouraging others, and at length led them gallantly forward to the firm ground. Here the arquebusiers, detaching themselves from the rest of the infantry, gained a small eminence, whence, in their turn, they opened a galling fire on Orgoñez, scattering his array of spearmen, and sorely annoying the cavalry on the flanks.

Meanwhile, Hernando, forming his two squadrons of horse into one column, crossed under cover of this well-sustained fire, and, reaching the firm ground, rode at once against the enemy. Orgoñez, whose infantry was already much crippled, advancing his horse, formed the two squadrons into one body, like his antagonist, and spurred at full gallop against the assailants. The shock was terrible; and it was hailed by the swarms of Indian spectators on the surrounding heights with a fiendish yell of triumph, that rose far above the din of battle, till it was lost in distant echoes among the mountains.*

The struggle was desperate. For it was not that of the white man against the defenceless Indian, but of Spaniard against Spaniard; both parties cheering

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. iv. cap. vi.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Espinall, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iii. cap. xi.

Everything relating to this battle—the disposition of the forces, the character of the ground, the mode of attack, are told as variously and confusedly, as if it had been a contest between two great armies, instead of a handful of men on either side. It would seem that truth is nowhere so difficult to come at as on the battle-field.

on their comrades with their battle-cries of "*El Rey y Almagro*," or "*El Rey y Pizarro*,"—while they fought with a hate, to which national antipathy was as nothing; a hate strong in proportion to the strength of the ties that had been rent asunder.

In this bloody field well did Orgoñez do his duty, fighting like one to whom battle was the natural element. Singling out a cavalier, whom, from the colour of the sobre-vest on his armour, he erroneously supposed to be Hernando Pizarro, he charged him in full career, and overthrew him with his lance. Another he ran through in like manner, and a third he struck down with his sword, as he was prematurely shouting "victory!" But while thus doing the deeds of a paladin of romance, he was hit by a chain-shot from an arquebuse, which, penetrating the bars of his visor, grazed his forehead, and deprived him for a moment of reason. Before he had fully recovered, his horse was killed under him, and though the fallen cavalier succeeded in extricating himself from the stirrups, he was surrounded, and soon overpowered by numbers. Still refusing to deliver up his sword, he asked "if there was no knight to whom he could surrender." One Fuentes, a menial of Pizarro, presenting himself as such, Orgoñez gave his sword into his hands—and the dastard, drawing his dagger, stabbed his defenceless prisoner to the heart! His head, then struck off, was stuck on a pike, and displayed, a bloody trophy, in the great square of Cuzco, as the head of a traitor.* Thus

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, ubi supra.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, ubi supra.

perished as loyal a cavalier, as decided in council, and as bold in action, as ever crossed to the shores of America.

The fight had now lasted more than an hour, and the fortune of the day was turning against the followers of Almagro. Orgoñez being down, their confusion increased. The infantry, unable to endure the fire of the arquebusiers, scattered and took refuge behind the stone-walls, that here and there straggled across the country. Pedro de Lerma, vainly striving to rally the cavalry, spurred his horse against Hernando Pizarro, with whom he had a personal feud. Pizarro did not shrink from the encounter. The lances of both the knights took effect. That of Hernando penetrated the thigh of his opponent, while Lerma's weapon, glancing by his adversary's saddle-bow, struck him with such force above the groin, that it pierced the joints of his mail, slightly wounding the cavalier, and forcing his horse back on his haunches. But the press of the fight soon parted the combatants, and, in the turmoil that ensued, Lerma was unhorsed, and left on the field covered with wounds.*

There was no longer order, and scarcely resistance, among the followers of Almagro. They fled, making the best of their way to Cuzco, and happy was the man who obtained quarter when he asked it. Almagro himself, too feeble to sit so long on his horse,

* Herrera, Hist. General, ubi supra.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xxxvi.

Hernando Pizarro wore a surcoat of orange-coloured velvet over his armour, according to Garcilasso, and before the battle sent notice of it to Orgoñez, that the latter might distinguish him in the *mêlée*. But a knight in Hernando's suite also wore the same colours, it appears, which led Orgoñez into error.

reclined on a litter, and from a neighbouring eminence surveyed the battle, watching its fluctuations with all the interest of one who felt that honour, fortune, life itself, hung on the issue. With agony not to be described, he had seen his faithful followers, after their hard struggle, borne down by their opponents, till, convinced that all was lost, he succeeded in mounting a mule, and rode off for a temporary refuge to the fortress of Cuzco. Thither he was speedily followed, taken, and brought in triumph to the capital, where, ill as he was, he was thrown into irons, and confined in the same apartment of the stone building in which he had imprisoned the Pizarros.

The action lasted not quite two hours. The number of killed, variously stated, was probably not less than a hundred and fifty,—one of the combatants calls it two hundred,*—a great number, considering the shortness of the time, and the small amount of forces engaged. No account is given of the wounded. Wounds were the portion of the cavalier. Pedro de Lerma is said to have received seventeen, and yet was taken alive from the field! The loss fell chiefly on the followers of Almagro. But the slaughter was not confined to the heat of the action. Such was the deadly

* "Murieron en esta batalla de las Salinas casi dozientos hombres de vna parte y de otra." (Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.) Most authorities rate the loss at less. The treasurer Espinall, a partisan of Almagro, says they massacred a hundred and fifty after the fight in cold blood. "Siguieron el alcanze la mas cruelmente que en el mundo se ha visto, porque matavan a los hombres rendidos e desarmados, e por les quitar las armas los mataban si presto no se las quitaban, e trayendo á las ancas de un caballo a un Ruy Diaz viniendo rendido e desarmado le mataron, i desta manera mataron mas de ciento é cinquenta hombres." Carta, MS.

animosity of the parties that several were murdered in cold blood, like Orgoñez, after they had surrendered. Pedro de Lerma himself, while lying on his sick couch in the quarters of a friend in Cuzco, was visited by a soldier, named Samaniego, whom he had once struck for an act of disobedience. This person entered the solitary chamber of the wounded man, took his place by his bedside, and then, upbraiding him for the insult, told him that he had come to wash it away in his blood! Lerma in vain assured him, that, when restored to health he would give him the satisfaction he desired. The miscreant, exclaiming "Now is the hour!" plunged his sword into his bosom. He lived several years to vaunt this atrocious exploit, which he proclaimed as a reparation to his honour. It is some satisfaction to know that the insolence of this vaunt cost him his life.*—Such anecdotes, revolting as they are, illustrate not merely the spirit of the times, but that peculiarly ferocious spirit which is engendered by civil wars,—the most unforgiving in their character of any, but wars of religion.

In the hurry of the flight of one party, and the pursuit by the other, all pouring towards Cuzco, the field of battle had been deserted. But it soon swarmed with plunderers, as the Indians descending like vultures from the mountains took possession of the bloody ground, and, despoiling the dead, even to the minutest article of dress, left their corpses naked on the

* Carta de Espinall, MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xxxviii.

He was hanged for this very crime by the governor of Puerto Viejo, about five years after this time, having outraged the feelings of that officer and the community by the insolent and open manner in which he boasted of his atrocious exploit.

plain.* It has been thought strange that the natives should not have availed themselves of their superior numbers to fall on the victors after they had been exhausted by the battle. But the scattered bodies of the Peruvians were without a leader; they were broken in spirits, moreover, by recent reverses, and the Castilians, although weakened for the moment by the struggle, were in far greater strength in Cuzco than they had ever been before.

Indeed, the number of troops now assembled within its walls, amounting to full thirteen hundred, composed, as they were, of the most discordant materials, gave great uneasiness to Hernando Pizarro. For there were enemies glaring on each other and on him with deadly though smothered rancour, and friends, if not so dangerous, not the less troublesome from their craving and unreasonable demands. He had given the capital up to pillage, and his followers found good booty in the quarters of Almagro's officers. But this did not suffice the more ambitious cavaliers; and they clamorously urged their services, and demanded to be placed in charge of some expedition, nothing doubting that it must prove a golden one. All were in quest of an *El Dorado*. Hernando Pizarro acquiesced as far as possible in these desires, most willing to relieve himself of such importunate creditors. The expeditions, it is true, usually ended in disaster; but the country

* "Los Indios viendo la batalla fenescida, ellos tambien se dejaron de la suia, iendo los vnos i los otros á desnudar los Españoles muertos, i aun algunos vivos, que por sus heridas no se podian defender, porque como pasó el tropel de la gente, siguiendo la victoria, no huvo quien se lo impidiese; de manera que dexaron en cueros á todos los caídos." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iii. cap. xi.

was explored by them. It was the lottery of adventure; the prizes were few, but they were splendid; and in the excitement of the game, few Spaniards paused to calculate the chances of success.

Among those who left the capital was Diego the son of Almagro. Hernando was mindful to send him, with a careful escort, to his brother the governor, desirous to remove him at this crisis from the neighbourhood of his father. Meanwhile the marshal himself was pining away in prison under the combined influence of bodily illness and distress of mind. Before the battle of Salinas, it had been told to Hernando Pizarro that Almagro was like to die. "Heaven forbid," he exclaimed, "that this should come to pass before he falls into my hands!"* Yet the gods seemed now disposed to grant but half of this pious prayer, since his captive seemed about to escape him just as he had come into his power. To console the unfortunate chief, Hernando paid him a visit in his prison, and cheered him with the assurance that he only waited for the governor's arrival to set him at liberty; adding, "that, if Pizarro did not come soon to the capital he himself would assume the responsibility of releasing him, and would furnish him with a conveyance to his brother's quarters." At the same time, with considerate attention to his comfort, he inquired of the marshal "what mode of conveyance would be best suited to his state of health." After this he continued to send him delicacies from his own table to revive his faded appetite. Almagro, cheered by these kind atten-

* "Respondia Hernando Pizarro, que no le haria Dios tan gran mal, que le dexase morir, sin que le huviese á las manos." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. iv. cap. v.

tions, and by the speedy prospect of freedom, gradually mended in health and spirits.*

He little dreamed that all this while a process was industriously preparing against him. It had been instituted immediately on his capture, and every one, however humble, who had any cause of complaint against the unfortunate prisoner was invited to present it. The summons was readily answered; and many an enemy now appeared in the hour of his fallen fortunes, like the base reptiles crawling into light amidst the ruins of some noble edifice; and more than one who had received benefits from his hands, were willing to court the favour of his enemy by turning on their benefactor. From these loathsome sources a mass of accusations was collected which spread over two thousand folio pages! Yet Almagro was the idol of his soldiers! †

Having completed the process, (July 8th, 1538,) it was not difficult to obtain a verdict against the prisoner. The principal charges on which he was pronounced guilty were those of levying war against the Crown, and thereby occasioning the death of many of his Majesty's subjects; of entering into conspiracy with the Inca; and finally, of dispossessing the royal governor of the city of Cuzco. On these charges he was condemned to suffer death as a traitor by being publicly beheaded in the great square of the city. Who were the judges, or what was the tribunal that con-

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. iv. cap. ix.

† "De tal manera que los Escrivanos no se davan manos, i iá tenian escritas mas de dos mil hojas." Ibid., dec. vi. lib. iv. cap. vii.—Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.—Conq. i Pob. del Piru, MS.—Carta de Gutierrez, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Espinall, MS.

demned him, we are not informed. Indeed, the whole trial was a mockery, if that can be called a trial where the accused himself is not even aware of the accusation.

The sentence was communicated by a friar deputed for the purpose to Almagro. The unhappy man, who all the while had been unconsciously slumbering on the brink of a precipice, could not at first comprehend the nature of his situation. Recovering from the first shock, "It was impossible," he said, "that such wrong could be done him,—he would not believe it." He then besought Hernando Pizarro to grant him an interview. That cavalier, not unwilling it would seem to witness the agony of his captive, consented; and Almagro was so humbled by his misfortunes that he condescended to beg for his life with the most piteous supplications. He reminded Hernando of his ancient relations with his brother, and the good offices he had rendered him and his family in the earlier part of their career. He touched on his acknowledged services to his country, and besought his enemy "to spare his gray hairs, and not to deprive him of the short remnant of an existence from which he had now nothing more to fear."—To this the other coldly replied, that "he was surprised to see Almagro demean himself in a manner so unbecoming a brave cavalier; that his fate was no worse than had befallen many a soldier before him; and that, since God had given him the grace to be a Christian, he should employ his remaining moments in making up his account with Heaven!" *

* "I que pues tuvo tanta gracia de Dios, que le hiço Christiano, ordenase su Alma, i temiese á Dios." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. v. cap. i.

But Almagro was not to be silenced. He urged the service he had rendered Hernando himself. "This was a hard requital," he said, "for having spared his life so recently under similar circumstances, and that, too, when he had been urged again and again by those around him to take it away." And he concluded by menacing his enemy with the vengeance of the emperor, who would never suffer this outrage on one who had rendered such signal services to the Crown to go unrequited. It was all in vain; and Hernando abruptly closed the conference by repeating, that "his doom was inevitable, and he must prepare to meet it."*

Almagro, finding that no impression was to be made on his iron-hearted conqueror, now seriously addressed himself to the settlement of his affairs. By the terms of the royal grant he was empowered to name his successor. He accordingly devolved his office on his son, appointing Diego de Alvarado, on whose integrity he had great reliance, administrator of the province during his minority. All his property and possessions in Peru, of whatever kind, he devised to his master the emperor, assuring him that a large balance was still due to him in his unsettled accounts with Pizarro. By

* Herrera, Hist. General, ubi supra.

The marshal appealed from the sentence of his judges to the Crown, supplicating his conqueror, (says the treasurer Espinall, in his letter to the emperor,) in terms that would have touched the heart of an infidel. "De la qual el dicho Adelantado apelo para ante V. M. i le rogo que por amor de Dios hincado de rodillas le otorgase el apelacion, diciendole que mirase sus canas e vejez e quanto havia servido á V. M. i q^{e} el havia sido el primer escalon para que el i sus hermanos subiesen en el estado en que estavan, i diciendole otras muchas palabras de dolor e compasion que despues de muerto supe que dixo, que á qualquier hombre, aunque fuera infiel, moviera á piedad." Carta, MS.

this politic bequest he hoped to secure the monarch's protection for his son, as well as a strict scrutiny into the affairs of his enemy.

The knowledge of Almagro's sentence produced a deep sensation in the community of Cuzco. All were amazed at the presumption with which one, armed with a little brief authority, ventured to sit in judgment on a person of Almagro's station. There were few who did not call to mind some generous or good-natured act of the unfortunate veteran. Even those who had furnished materials for the accusation, now startled by the tragic result to which it was to lead, were heard to denounce Hernando's conduct as that of a tyrant. Some of the principal cavaliers, and among them Diego de Alvarado, to whose intercession, as we have seen, Hernando Pizárro, when a captive, had owed his own life, waited on that commander, and endeavoured to dissuade him from so high-handed and atrocious a proceeding. It was in vain. But it had the effect of changing the mode of execution, which, instead of the public square, was now to take place in prison.*

On the day appointed, a strong corps of arquebusiers was drawn up in the *plaza*. The guards were doubled over the houses where dwelt the principal partisans of Almagro. The executioner, attended by a priest,

* Carta de Espinall, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1538.

Bishop Valverde, as he assures the emperor, remonstrated with Francisco Pizarro in Lima, against allowing violence towards the marshal; urging it on him, as an imperative duty, to go himself at once to Cuzco, and set him at liberty. "It was too grave a matter," he rightly added, "to trust to a third party." (Carta al Emperador, MS.) The treasurer Espinall, then in Cuzco, made a similar ineffectual attempt to turn Hernando from his purpose.

stealthily entered his prison; and the unhappy man, after confessing and receiving the sacrament, submitted without resistance to the *garote*. Thus obscurely, in the gloomy silence of a dungeon, perished the hero of a hundred battles! His corpse was removed to the great square of the city, where, in obedience to the sentence, the head was severed from the body. A herald proclaimed aloud the nature of the crimes for which he had suffered; and his remains, rolled in their bloody shroud, were borne to the house of his friend Hernan Ponce de Leon, and the next day laid with all due solemnity in the church of Our Lady of Mercy. The Pizarros appeared among the principal mourners. It was remarked that their brother had paid similar honours to the memory of Atahuallpa.*

Almagro, at the time of his death, was probably not far from seventy years of age. But this is somewhat uncertain; for Almagro was a foundling, and his early history is lost in obscurity.† He had many excellent qualities by nature; and his defects, which were not few, may reasonably be palliated by the circumstances of his situation. For what extenuation is not authorized by the position of a *foundling*,—without parents, or early friends, or teacher to direct him,—his little bark set adrift on the ocean of life, to take its chance among the rude billows and breakers, without one

* Carta de Espinall, MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, loc. cit.—Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.—Carta de Gutierrez, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1538.

The date of Almagro's execution is not given; a strange omission; but of little moment, as that event must have followed soon on the condemnation.

† Ante, vol. i. p. 191.

friendly hand stretched forth to steer or save it! The name of "foundling" comprehends an apology for much, very much, that is wrong in after life.*

He was a man of strong passions, and not too well used to control them.† But he was neither vindictive nor habitually cruel. I have mentioned one atrocious outrage which he committed on the natives. But insensibility to the rights of the Indian he shared with many a better-instructed Spaniard. Yet the Indians, after his conviction, bore testimony to his general humanity, by declaring that they had no such friend among the white men.‡ Indeed, far from being vindictive, he was placable, and easily yielded to others. The facility with which he yielded, the result of good-natured credulity, made him too often the dupe of the crafty; and it shewed, certainly, a want of that self-reliance which belongs to great strength of character. Yet his facility of temper, and the generosity of his nature, made him popular with his followers. No commander was ever more beloved by his soldiers. His generosity was often carried to prodigality. When he entered on the campaign of Chili, he lent a hundred thousand gold ducats to the poorer cavaliers to equip themselves, and afterwards gave them up the

* Montesinos, for want of a better pedigree, says,—"He was the son of his own great deeds, and such has been the parentage of many a famous hero!" (Annales, MS., año 1538.) It would go hard with a Castilian if he could not make out something like a genealogy,—however shadowy.

† "Hera vn hombre muy profano, de muy mala lengua, que en enojandose tratava muy mal á todos los que con el andavan aunque fuesen cavalleros." (Descub. y Conq., MS.) It is the portrait drawn by an enemy.

‡ "Los Indios lloraban amargamente, diciendo, que de él nunca recibieron mal tratamiento." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. v. cap. i.

debt.* He was profuse to ostentation. But his extravagance did no harm among the roving spirits of the camp, with whom prodigality is apt to gain more favour than a strict and well-regulated economy.

He was a good soldier, careful and judicious in his plans, patient and intrepid in their execution. His body was covered with the scars of his battles, till the natural plainness of his person was converted almost into deformity. He must not be judged by his closing campaign, when, depressed by disease, he yielded to the superior genius of his rival; but, by his numerous expeditions by land and by water, for the conquest of Peru and the remote Chili. Yet it may be doubted whether he possessed those uncommon qualities, either as a warrior or as a man, that, in ordinary circumstances, would have raised him to distinction. He was one of the three, or, to speak more strictly, of the two associates, who had the good fortune and the glory to make one of the most splendid discoveries in the Western World. He shares largely in the credit of this with Pizarro; for when he did not accompany that leader in his perilous expeditions, he contributed no less to their success by his exertions in the colonies.

Yet his connection with that chief can hardly be considered a fortunate circumstance in his career. A partnership between individuals for discovery and conquest is not likely to be very scrupulously observed,

* If we may credit Herrera, he distributed a hundred and eighty loads of silver and twenty of gold among his followers! "Mandó sacar de su Posada mas de ciento i ochenta cargas de Plata i veinte de Oro, i las repartió." (Dec. v. lib. vii. cap. ix.) A load was what a man could easily carry. Such a statement taxes our credulity, but it is difficult to set the proper limits to one's credulity, in what relates to this land of gold.

especially by men more accustomed to govern others than to govern themselves. If causes for discord do not arise before, they will be sure to spring up on division of the spoil. But this association was particularly ill-assorted. For the free, sanguine, and confiding temper of Almagro was no match for the cool and crafty policy of Pizarro; and he was invariably circumvented by his companion, whenever their respective interests came in collision.

Still the final ruin of Almagro may be fairly imputed to himself. He made two capital blunders. The first was his appeal to arms by the seizure of Cuzco. The determination of a boundary-line was not to be settled by arms. It was a subject for arbitration; and if arbitrators could not be trusted, it should have been referred to the decision of the Crown. But, having once appealed to arms, he should not then have resorted to negotiation,—above all, to negotiation with Pizarro. This was his second and greatest error. He had seen enough of Pizarro to know that he was not to be trusted. Almagro did trust him, and he paid for it with his life.

CHAPTER III.

Pizarro revisits Cuzco.—Hernando returns to Castile.—His long Imprisonment.—Commissioner sent to Peru.—Hostilities with the Inca.—Pizarro's active Administration.—Gonzalo Pizarro.

1539, 1540.

On the departure of his brother in pursuit of Almagro, the Marquess Francisco Pizarro, as we have seen, returned to Lima. There he anxiously awaited the result of the campaign; and on receiving the welcome tidings of the victory of Las Salinas, he instantly made preparations for his march to Cuzco. At Xauxa, however, he was long detained by the distracted state of the country, and still longer, as it would seem, by a reluctance to enter the Peruvian capital while the trial of Almagro was pending.

He was met at Xauxa by the marshal's son Diego, who had been sent to the coast by Hernando Pizarro. The young man was filled with the most gloomy apprehensions respecting his father's fate, and he besought the governor not to allow his brother to do him any violence. Pizarro, who received Diego with much apparent kindness, bade him take heart, as no harm should come to his father;* adding, that he trusted their ancient friendship would soon be re-

* "I dixo, que no tuviese ninguna pena, porque no consentiria, que su Padre fuese muerto." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. vi. cap. iii.

newed. The youth, comforted by these assurances, took his way to Lima, where, by Pizarro's orders, he was received into his house, and treated as a son.

The same assurances respecting the marshal's safety were given by the governor to Bishop Valverde, and some of the principal cavaliers who interested themselves in behalf of the prisoner.* Still Pizarro delayed his march to the capital; and when he resumed it, he had advanced no farther than the *Rio de Abancay* when he received tidings of the death of his rival. He appeared greatly shocked by the intelligence, his whole frame was agitated, and he remained for some time with his eyes bent on the ground, shewing signs of strong emotion.†

Such is the account given by his friends. A more probable version of the matter represents him to have been perfectly aware of the state of things at Cuzco. When the trial was concluded, it is said he received a message from Hernando, inquiring what was to be done with the prisoner. He answered in a few words:—"Deal with him so that he shall give us no more trouble."‡ It is also stated that Hernando, afterwards, when labouring under the

* "Que lo haria asi como lo decia, i que su deseo no era otro, sino ver el Reino en paz; i que en lo que tocaba al Adelantado, perdiese cuidado, que bolveria á tener el antigua amistad con él." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. iv. cap. ix.

† Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

He even shed many tears, *derramó muchas lagrimas*, according to Herrera, who evidently gives him small credit for them. Ibid., dec. vi. lib. vi. cap. vii.—Conf. lib. v. cap. i.

† "Respondió, que hiciese de manera, que el Adelantado no los pusiese en mas alborotos." (Ibid., dec. vi. lib. vi. cap. vii.) "De todo esto," says Espinall, "fue sabidor el dicho Governador Pizarro á lo que mi juicio i el de otros que en ello quisieron mirar alcanzó." Carta de Espinall, MS.

obloquy caused by Almagro's death, shielded himself under instructions affirmed to have been received from the governor.* It is quite certain that, during his long residence at Xauxa, the latter was in constant communication with Cuzco; and that had he, as Valverde repeatedly urged him,† quickened his march to that capital, he might easily have prevented the consummation of the tragedy. As commander-in-chief, Almagro's fate was in his hands; and, whatever his own partisans may affirm of his innocence, the impartial judgment of history must hold him equally accountable with Hernando for the death of his associate.

Neither did his subsequent conduct shew any remorse for these proceedings. He entered Cuzco, says one who was present there to witness it, amidst the flourish of clarions and trumpets, at the head of his martial cavalcade, and dressed in the rich suit presented him by Cortés, with the proud bearing and joyous mien of a conqueror.‡ When Diego de Alvarado applied to him for the government of the southern provinces, in the name of the young Almagro, whom his father, as we have seen, had consigned to his protection, Pizarro answered, that "the marshal, by his rebellion, had forfeited all claims to the government." And, when he was still further urged

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. v. cap. i.

Herrera's testimony is little short of that of a contemporary, since it was derived, he tells us, from the correspondence of the Conquerors, and the accounts given him by their own sons. Lib. vi. cap. vii.

† Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.

‡ "En este medio tiempo vino á la dicha cibdad del Cuzco el Gobernador D. Franco Pizarro, el qual entro con tronpetas i chirimias vestido con ropa de martas que fue el luto con que entro." Carta de Espinall, MS.

by the cavalier, he bluntly broke off the conversation by declaring that "his own territory covered all on this side of Flanders!"*—intimating, no doubt, by this magnificent vaunt, that he would endure no rival on this side of the water.

In the same spirit, he had recently sent to supersede Benalcazar, the Conqueror of Quito, who, he was informed, aspired to an independent government. Pizarro's emissary had orders to send the offending captain to Lima; but Benalcazar, after pushing his victorious career far into the north, had returned to Castile to solicit his guerdon from the emperor.

To the complaints of the injured natives, who invoked his protection, he shewed himself strangely insensible, while the followers of Almagro he treated with undisguised contempt. The estates of the leaders were confiscated, and transferred without ceremony to his own partisans. Hernando had made attempts to conciliate some of the opposite faction by acts of liberality, but they had refused to accept any thing from the man whose hands were stained with the blood of their commander.† The governor held to them no such encouragement; and many were reduced to such abject poverty, that, too proud to expose their wretchedness to the eyes of their conquerors, they withdrew from the city, and sought a retreat among the neighbouring mountains.‡

* Carta de Espinall, MS,

†"Mui asperamente le respondió el Governador, diciendo, que su Governacion no tenia Termino, i que llegaba hasta Flandes." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. vi. cap. vii.

† "Avia querido hazer amigos de los principales de Chile, y ofrecidoles daria rrepartimientos y no lo avian aceptado ni querido." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

‡ "Viendolas oy en dia, muertos dè ambre, fechos pedazos e adeudados, andando por los mon-

For his own brothers he provided by such ample *repartimientos*, as excited the murmurs of his adherents. He appointed Gonzalo to the command of a strong force destined to act against the natives of Charcas, a hardy people occupying the territory assigned by the Crown to Almagro. Gonzalo met with a sturdy resistance, but, after some severe fighting, succeeded in reducing the province to obedience. He was recompensed, together with Hernando, who aided him in the conquest, by a large grant in the neighbourhood of Porco, the productive mines of which had been partially wrought under the Incas. The territory thus situated, embraced part of those silver hills of Potosí which have since supplied Europe with such stores of the precious metals. Hernando comprehended the capabilities of the ground, and he began working the mines on a more extensive scale than that hitherto adopted, though it does not appear that any attempt was then made to penetrate the rich crust of Potosí.* A few years more were to elapse before the Spaniards were to bring to light the silver quarries that lay hidden in the bosom of its mountains.†

tes desesperados por no parecer ante gentes, porque no tienen otra cosa que se vestir sino ropa de los Indios, ni dineros con que lo comprar." Carta de Espinall, MS.

* "Con la quietud," writes Hernando Pizarro to the emperor, "questa tierra agora tiene han descubierto i descubren cada dia los vecinos muchas minas ricas de oro i plata, de que los quintos i rentas reales de V. M. cada dia se le ofrecen i hacer casa á todo el Mundo." Carta al Emperador, MS., de Puerto Viejo, vi. de Julii, 1539.

† Carta de Carbajal al Emperador, MS., del Cuzco, iii. de Nov. 1539.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1539.

The story is well known of the manner in which the mines of Potosí were discovered by an Indian, who pulled a bush out of the

It was now the great business of Hernando to collect a sufficient quantity of treasure to take with him to Castile. Nearly a year had elapsed since Almagro's death; and it was full time that he should return and present himself at Court, where Diego de Alvarado and other friends of the marshal, who had long since left Peru, were industriously maintaining the claims of the younger Almagro as well as demanding redress for the wrongs done to his father. But Hernando looked confidently to his gold to dispel the accusations against him.

Before his departure, he counselled his brother to beware of the "men of Chili," as Almagro's followers were called; desperate men, who would stick at nothing, he said, for revenge. He besought the governor not to allow them to consort together in any number within fifty miles of his person; if he did, it would be fatal to him. And he concluded by recommending a strong body-guard; "for I," he added, "shall not be here to watch over you." But the governor laughed at the idle fears, as he termed them, of his brother, bidding the latter take no thought of him, "as every hair in the heads of Almagro's followers was a guarantee for his safety."*

ground to the fibres of which a quantity of silver globules was attached. The mine was not registered till 1545. The account is given by Acosta, lib. iv. cap. vi.

* Herrera, Hist. General dec. vi. lib. vi. cap. x. Zarate, Conq., del Peru, lib. iii. cap. xii.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxlii.

"No consienta vuestra señoria que se junta diez juntos en cinquenta leguas alrrededor de adonde vuestra señoria estuviere, porque si los dexa juntar le an de matar. Si á Vuestra Señoria matan, yo negociare mal y de vuestra señoria no quedara memoria. Estas palabras dixo Hernando Piçarro altas que todos le oymos. Y abraçando al marquez se partio y se fue." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

He did not know the character of his enemies so well as Hernando.

The latter soon after embarked at Lima in the summer of 1539. He did not take the route of Panamá, for he had heard that it was the intention of the authorities there to detain him. He made a circuitous passage, therefore, by way of Mexico, landed in the bay of Tecoantepec, and was making his way across the narrow strip that divides the great oceans, when he was arrested and taken to the capital. But the Viceroy Mendoza did not consider that he had a right to detain him, and he was suffered to embark at Vera Cruz, and to proceed on his voyage. Still he did not deem it safe to trust himself in Spain without further advices. He accordingly put in at one of the Azores, where he remained until he could communicate with home. He had some powerful friends at Court, and by them he was encouraged to present himself before the emperor. He took their advice, and, shortly after, reached the Spanish coast in safety.*

The Court was at Valladolid; but Hernando, who made his entrance into that city with great pomp and a display of his Indian riches, met with a reception colder than he had anticipated.† For this he was mainly indebted to Diego de Alvarado, who was then residing there, and who, as a cavalier of honourable standing, and of high connections, had considerable influence. He had formerly, as we

* Carta de Hernando Pizarro al Emperador, MS.—Herrera, Hist. Gen. dec. vi. lib. vi. cap. x.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1539.

† Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxliii.

have seen, by his timely interposition, more than once saved the life of Hernando; and he had consented to receive a pecuniary obligation from him to a large amount. But all were now forgotten in the recollection of the wrong done to his commander; and, true to the trust reposed in him by that chief in his dying hour, he had come to Spain to vindicate the claims of the young Almagro.

But although coldly received at first, Hernando's presence, and his own version of the dispute with Almagro, aided by the golden arguments which he dealt with no stinted hand, checked the current of indignation, and the opinion of his judges seemed for a time suspended. Alvarado, a cavalier more accustomed to the prompt and decisive action of a camp than to the tortuous intrigues of a court, chafed at the delay, and challenged Hernando to settle their quarrel by single combat. But his prudent adversary had no desire to leave the issue to such an ordeal; and the affair was speedily terminated by the death of Alvarado himself, which happened five days after the challenge. An event so opportune naturally suggested the suspicion of poison.*

But his accusations had not wholly fallen to the ground; and Hernando Pizarro had carried measures with too high a hand, and too grossly outraged public sentiment, to be permitted to escape. He received no formal sentence, but he was imprisoned in the strong fortress of Medina del Campo, where he was allowed to remain for twenty years, when in

* "Pero todo lo atajó la repentina muerte de Diego de Alvarado, que sucedió luego en cinco dias, no sin sospecha de veneno." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. viii. cap. ix.

1560, after a generation had nearly passed away, and time had, in some measure, thrown its softening veil over the past, he was suffered to regain his liberty.* But he came forth an aged man, bent down with infirmities and broken in spirit,—an object of pity, rather than indignation. Rarely has retributive justice been meted out in fuller measure to offenders so high in authority,—most rarely in Castile.†

Yet Hernando bore this long imprisonment with an equanimity which, had it been founded on principle, might command our respect. He saw brothers and kindred, all on whom he leaned for support, cut off one after another; his fortune, in part, confiscated, while he was involved in expensive litigation for the remainder;‡ his fame blighted, his career closed in an untimely hour, himself an exile in the heart of his own country;—yet he bore it all with the constancy of a courageous spirit. Though very old when released, he still survived several years, and continued to the extraordinary age of a hundred.§ He lived long enough to see friends,

* This date is established by Quintana, from a legal process instituted by Hernando's grandson, in vindication of the title of Marquess, in the year 1625.

† Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.—Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Illustres, p. 341.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1539.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxlii.

‡ Caro de Torr es givesa royal *cédula* in reference to the working of the silver mines of Porco, still owned by Hernando Pizarro, in 1555; and another document of nearly the same date, noticing his receipt of ten thousand ducats by the fleet from Peru. (Historia de las Ordenes Militares Madrid, 1629, p. 144.) Hernando's grandson was created by Philip IV. Marquess of the Conquest, *Marques de la Conquista*, with a liberal pension from government. Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Illustres, p. 342, and Discurso, p. 72.

§ "Multos da, Jupiter, annos;"

rivals, and foes, all called away to their account before him.

Hernando Pizarro was, in many respects, a remarkable character. He was the eldest of the brothers, to whom he was related only by the father's side, for he was born in wedlock, of honourable parentage on both sides of his house. In his early years, he received a good education,—good for the time. He was taken by his father, while quite young, to Italy, and there learned the art of war under the Great Captain. Little is known of his history after his return to Spain; but, when his brother had struck out for himself his brilliant career of discovery in Peru, Hernando consented to take part in his adventures.

He was much deferred to by Francisco, not only as his elder brother, but from his superior education and his knowledge of affairs. He was ready in his perceptions, fruitful in resources, and possessed of great vigour in action. Though courageous, he was cautious; and his counsels, when not warped by passion, were wise and wary. But he had other qualities, which more than counterbalanced the good resulting from excellent parts and attainments. His ambition and avarice were insatiable. He was supercilious even to his equals; and he had a vindictive temper, which nothing could appease. Thus, instead of aiding his brother in the Conquest, he

the greatest boon, in Pizarro y Orellana's opinion, that Heaven can confer! "Diole Dios, por todo, el premio mayor desta vida, pues fue tan larga, que excedio de cien años." (Varones Ilustres, p. 342.) According to the same somewhat partial authority, Hernando died, as he had lived, in the odour of sanctity! "Viviendo aprender a morir, y saber morir, quando llegò la muerte.

was the evil genius that blighted his path. He conceived from the first an unwarrantable contempt for Almagro, whom he regarded as his brother's rival, instead of what he then was, the faithful partner of his fortunes. He treated him with personal indignity, and, by his intrigues at Court, had the means of doing him sensible injury. He fell into Almagro's hands, and had nearly paid for these wrongs with his life. This was not to be forgiven by Hernando, and he coolly waited for the hour of revenge. Yet the execution of Almagro was a most impolitic act; for an evil passion can rarely be gratified with impunity. Hernando thought to buy off justice with the gold of Peru. He had studied human nature on its weak and wicked side, and he expected to profit by it. Fortunately, he was deceived, He had, indeed, his revenge; but the hour of his revenge was that of his ruin.

The disorderly state of Peru was such as to demand the immediate interposition of government. In the general licence that prevailed there, the rights of the Indian and of the Spaniard were equally trampled under foot. Yet the subject was one of great difficulty; for Pizarro's authority was now firmly established over the country, which itself was too remote from Castile to be readily controlled at home. Pizarro, moreover, was a man not easy to be approached, confident in his own strength, jealous of interference, and possessed of a fiery temper, which would kindle into a flame at the least distrust of the government. It would not answer to send out a commission to suspend him from the exercise of his authority until his conduct could be investi-

gated, as was done with Cortés, and other great colonial officers, on whose rooted loyalty the Crown could confidently rely. Pizarro's loyalty sat, it was feared, too lightly on him to be a powerful restraint on his movements; and there were not wanting those among his reckless followers, who, in case of extremity, would be prompt to urge him to throw off his allegiance altogether, and set up an independent government for himself.

Some one was to be sent out, therefore, who should possess, in some sort, a controlling, or, at least, concurrent power with the dangerous chief, while ostensibly he should act only in subordination to him. The person selected for this delicate mission, was the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, a member of the Royal Audience of Valladolid. He was a learned judge, a man of integrity and wisdom, and though not bred to arms, had so much address, and such knowledge of character as would enable him readily to turn the resources of others to his own account.

His commission was guarded in a way which shewed the embarrassment of the government. He was to appear before Pizarro in the capacity of a royal judge; to consult with him on the redress of grievances, especially with reference to the unfortunate natives; to concert measures for the prevention of future evils; and, above all, to possess himself faithfully of the condition of the country in all its details, and to transmit intelligence of it to the Court of Castile. But, in case of Pizarro's death, he was to produce his warrant as royal governor, and as such to claim the obedience of the authorities

throughout the land.—Events shewed the wisdom of providing for this latter contingency.*

The licentiate, thus commissioned, quitted his quiet residence at Valladolid, embarked at Seville, in the autumn of 1540, and, after a tedious voyage across the Atlantic, he traversed the Isthmus, and, encountering a succession of tempests on the Pacific, that had nearly sent his frail bark to the bottom, put in with her, a mere wreck, at the northerly port of Buenaventura.† The affairs of the country were in a state to require his presence.

The civil war which had lately distracted the land had left it in so unsettled a state, that the agitation continued long after the immediate cause had ceased. This was especially the case among the natives. In the violent transfer of *repartimientos*, the poor Indian hardly knew to whom he was to look as his master. The fierce struggles between the rival chieftains left him equally in doubt whom he was to regard as the rulers of the land. As to the authority of a common sovereign, across the waters, paramount over all, he held that in still greater distrust; for what was the authority which could not command the obedience even of its own vassals?‡ The Inca Manco

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxlvi.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. viii. cap. ix.—Montesinos, Annales, MS, año 1540.

This latter writer sees nothing short of a "divine mystery" in this forecast of government, so singularly sustained by events. "Prevencion del gran espiritu del Rey, no sin misterio." Ubi supra.

† Or, as the port should rather be called, *Mala Ventura*, as Pedro Pizarro punningly remarks. "Tuvo tan mal viaje en la mar que vbo de desembarcar en la Buena Ventura, aunque yo la llamo Mala." Descub. y Conq., MS.

‡ "Piensan que les mienten los que aca les dizen que ai un

was not slow in taking advantage of this state of feeling. He left his obscure fastnesses in the depths of the Andes, and established himself with a strong body of followers in the mountain country lying between Cuzco and the coast. From this retreat, he made descents on the neighbouring plantations, destroying the houses, sweeping off the cattle, and massacring the people. He fell on travellers, as they were journeying singly or in caravans from the coast, and put them to death—it is told by his enemies—with cruel tortures. Single detachments were sent against him, from time to time, but without effect. Some he eluded, others he defeated; and, on one occasion, cut off a party of thirty troopers, to a man.*

At length, Pizarro found it necessary to send a considerable force under his brother Gonzalo against the Inca. The hardy Indian encountered his enemy several times in the rough passes of the Cordilleras. He was usually beaten, and sometimes with heavy loss, which he repaired with astonishing facility; for he always contrived to make his escape, and so true were his followers, that, in defiance of pursuit and ambuscade, he found a safe shelter in the secret haunts of the sierra.

Thus baffled, Pizarro determined to try the effect of pacific overtures. He sent to the Inca, both in his own name, and in that of the Bishop of Cuzco,

gran Señor en Castilla, viendo que aca pelean unos capitanes contra otros; y piensan que no ai otro Rei sino aquel que venze al otro, porque aca entrelles no se acostumbra que un capitan pelee contra otro, estando entrambos debaxo de un Señor." Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. vi. cap. vii.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Espinall' MS.—Carta de Valverde al Emperador MS.

whom the Peruvian prince held in reverence, to invite him to enter into negotiation.* Manco acquiesced, and indicated, as he had formerly done with Almagro, the valley of Yucay, as the scene of it. The governor repaired thither, at the appointed time, well guarded, and, to propitiate the barbarian monarch, sent him a rich present by the hands of an African slave. The slave was met on the route by a party of the Inca's men, who, whether, with or without their master's orders, cruelly murdered him and bore off the spoil to their quarters. Pizarro resented this outrage by another yet more atrocious.

Among the Indian prisoners was one of the Inca's wives, a young and beautiful woman, to whom he was said to be fondly attached. The governor ordered her to be stripped naked, bound to a tree, and, in presence of the camp, to be scourged with rods, and then shot to death with arrows. The wretched victim bore the execution of the sentence with surprising fortitude. She did not beg for mercy, where none was to be found. Not a complaint, scarcely a groan, escaped her under the infliction of

* The Inca declined the interview with the bishop, on the ground that he had seen him pay obeisance by taking off his cap to Pizarro. It proved his inferiority to the latter, he said, and that he could never protect him against the governor. The passage in which it is related is curious. "Preguntando a Indios del inca que anda alzado que si sabe el inca que yo soi venido á la tierra en nombre de S. M. para defendellos, dixo que mui bien lo sabia; y preguntado que porque no se benia á mi de paz, dixo el Indio que dezia el inca que porque yo quando vine hize la mocha al gobernador, que quiere dezir que le quité el Bonete; que no queria venir á mi de paz, que él que no havia de venir de paz sino á uno que viniese de Castilla que no hiziese la mocha al gobernador, porque le paresze á él que este lo podrá defender per lo que ha hecho y no otro." Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.

these terrible torments. The iron Conquerors were amazed at this power of endurance in a delicate woman, and they expressed their admiration, while they condemned the cruelty of their commander,—in their hearts.* Yet constancy under the most excruciating tortures that human cruelty can inflict is almost the universal characteristic of the American Indian.

Pizarro now prepared, as the most effectual means of checking these disorders among the natives, to establish settlements in the heart of the disaffected country. These settlements, which received the dignified name of cities, might be regarded in the light of military colonies. The houses were usually built of stone, to which were added the various public offices, and sometimes a fortress. A municipal corporation was organized. Settlers were invited by the distribution of large tracts of land in the neighbourhood, with a stipulated number of Indian vassals to each. The soldiers then gathered there, sometimes accompanied by their wives and families; for the women of Castile seem to have disdained the impediments of sex, in the ardour of conjugal attachment, or, it may be of romantic adventure. A

* At least, we may presume they did so, since they openly condemn him in their accounts of the transaction. I quote Pedro Pizarro, not disposed to criticise the conduct of his general too severely. "Se tomo una muger de mango ynga que le queria mucho y se guardo, creyendo que por ella saldria de paz. Esta muger mando matar al marquez despues en Yncay, haziendola varear con varas y flechar con flechas por una burla que mango ynga le hizo que aqui contare, y entiendo yo que por esta crueldad y otra hermana del ynga que mando matar en Lima quando los yndios pusieron cerco sobrella que se llamava Açarpay. me paresce á mi que nuestro senor le castigo en el fin que tuvo." Descub. y Conq., MS.

populous settlement rapidly grew up in the wilderness, affording protection to the surrounding territory, and furnishing a commercial *dépôt* for the country, and an armed force ready at all times to maintain public order.

Such a settlement was that now made at Guamanga, midway between Cuzco and Lima, which effectually answered its purpose by guarding the communications with the coast.* Another town was founded in the mining district of Charcas, under the appropriate name of the Villa de la Plata, the "City of Silver." And Pizarro, as he journeyed by a circuitous route along the shores of the southern sea towards Lima, planted there the city of Arequipa, since arisen to such commercial celebrity.

Once more in his favourite capital of Lima, the governor found abundant occupation in attending to its municipal concerns, and in providing for the expansive growth of its population. Nor was he unmindful of the other rising settlements on the Pacific. He encouraged commerce with the remoter colonies north of Peru, and took measures for facilitating internal intercourse. He stimulated industry in all its branches, paying great attention to husbandry, and importing seeds of the different European grains, which he had the satisfaction, in a short time, to see thriving luxuriantly in a country where the variety of soil and climate afforded a home for almost every

* Cieza de Leon notices the uncommon beauty and solidity of the buildings at Guamanga. "La qual han edificado las mayores y mejores casas que ay en todo el Peru, todas de piedra, ladrillo, y teja, con grandes torres: de manera que no falta aposentos. La plaça esta llana y bien grande." Cronica, cap. lxxxvii.

product.* Above all, he promoted the working of the mines, which already began to make such returns, that the most common articles of life rose to exorbitant prices, while the precious metals themselves seemed the only things of little value. But they soon changed hands, and found their way to the mother-country, where they rose to their true level as they mingled with the general currency of Europe. The Spaniards found that they had at length reached the land of which they had been so long in search,—the land of gold and silver. Emigrants came in greater numbers to the country, and, spreading over its surface, formed in the increasing population the most effectual barrier against the rightful owners of the soil.†

Pizarro, strengthened by the arrival of fresh adventurers, now turned his attention to the remoter quarters of the country. Pedro de Valdivia was sent on his memorable expedition to Chili; and to his own brother Gonzalo the governor assigned the territory of Quito, with instructions to explore the unknown country towards the east, where, as report said, grew the cinnamon. As this chief, who had hitherto acted but a subordinate part in the Conquest, is henceforth to take the most conspicuous, it may be well to give some account of him.

Little is known of his early life, for he sprang

* "I con que ià començabá á haver en aquellas tierras cosecha de trigo, cevada, i otras muchas cosas de Castilla." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. x. cap. ii.

† Carta de Carvajal al Emperador, MS.—Montesinos, Annaeles, MS., años 1539 et 1541.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.— Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. vii. cap. i.—Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. lxxvi. et alibi.

from the same obscure origin with Francisco, and seems to have been as little indebted as his elder brother to the fostering care of his parents. He entered early on the career of a soldier; a career to which every man in that iron age, whether cavalier or vagabond, seems, if left to himself, to have most readily inclined. Here he soon distinguished himself by his skill in martial exercises, was an excellent horseman, and, when he came to the New World, was esteemed the best lance in Peru.*

In talent and in expansion of views, he was inferior to his brothers. Neither did he discover the same cool and crafty policy; but he was equally courageous, and in the execution of his measures quite as unscrupulous. He had a handsome person, with open, engaging features, a free, soldier-like address, and a confiding temper, which endeared him to his followers. His spirit was high and adventurous, and, what was equally important he could inspire others with the same spirit, and thus do much to insure the success of his enterprizes. He was an excellent captain in *guerilla* warfare, an admirable leader in doubtful and difficult expeditions; but he had not the enlarged capacity for a great military chief, still less for a civil ruler. It was his misfortune to be called to fill both situations.

* The cavalier Pizarro y Orellana has given biographical notices of each of the brothers. It requires no witchcraft to detect that the blood of the Pizarros flowed in the veins of the writer to his fingers' ends. Yet his facts are less suspicious than his inferences.

CHAPTER IV.

Gonzalo Pizarro's Expedition. — Passage across the Mountains. — Discovers the Napo.—Incredible Sufferings.—Orellana sails down the Amazon.—Despair of the Spaniards.—The Survivors return to Quito.

1540—1542.

Gonzalo Pizarro received the news of his appointment to the government of Quito with undisguised pleasure; not so much for the possession that it gave him of this ancient Indian province, as for the field that it opened for discovery towards the east, the fabled land of Oriental spices, which had long captivated the imagination of the Conquerors. He repaired to his government without delay, and found no difficulty in awakening a kindred enthusiasm to his own in the bosoms of his followers. In a short time, he mustered three hundred and fifty Spaniards, and four thousand Indians. One hundred and fifty of his company were mounted, and all were equipped in the most thorough manner for the undertaking. He provided, moreover, against famine by a large stock of provisions, and an immense drove of swine which followed in the rear.*

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. viii. cap. vi. vii.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii. cap. ii.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. i. ii.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxliii.—Montesinos, Annales, año 1539.

Historians differ as to the number of Gonzalo's forces, of his men, his horses, and his hogs.

It was the beginning of 1540, when he set out on this celebrated expedition. The first part of the journey was attended with comparatively little difficulty, while the Spaniards were yet in the land of the Incas; for the distractions of Peru had not been felt in this distant province, where the simple people still lived as under the primitive sway of the Children of the Sun. But the scene changed as they entered the territory of Quixos, where the character of the inhabitants, as well as of the climate, seemed to be of another description. The country was traversed by lofty ranges of the Andes, and the adventurers were soon entangled in their deep and intricate passes. As they rose into the more elevated regions, the icy winds that swept down the sides of the Cordilleras benumbed their limbs, and many of the natives found a wintry grave in the wilderness. While crossing this formidable barrier, they experienced one of those tremendous earthquakes which, in these volcanic regions, so often shake the mountains to their base. In one place, the earth was rent asunder by the terrible throes of Nature, while streams of sulphurous vapour issued from the cavity, and a village with some hundreds of houses was precipitated into the frightful abyss!*

The last, according to Herrera, amounted to no less than 5000; a goodly supply of bacon for so small a troop, since the Indians, doubtless, lived on parched corn, *coca*, which usually formed their only support on the longest journeys.

* Zarate states the number with precision at five hundred houses. "Sobrevino vn tan gran terremoto, con temblor, i tempestad de agua, i relampagos, i raios, i grandes truenos, que abriendose la tierra por muchas partes, se hundieron quinientas casas." (Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. ii.) There is nothing so satisfactory to the mind of the reader as precise numbers; and nothing so little deserving of his confidence.

On descending the eastern slopes, the climate changed; and, as they came on the lower level, the fierce cold was succeeded by a suffocating heat, while tempests of thunder and lightning, rushing from out the gorges of the sierra, poured on their heads with scarcely any intermission day or night, as if the offended deities of the place were willing to take vengeance on the invaders of their mountain solitudes. For more than six weeks the deluge continued unabated, and the forlorn wanderers, wet, and weary with incessant toil, were scarcely able to drag their limbs along the soil broken up and saturated with the moisture. After some months of toilsome travel, in which they had to cross many a morass and mountain stream, they at length reached *Canelas*, the Land of Cinnamon.* They saw the trees bearing the precious bark, spreading out into broad forests; yet, however valuable an article for commerce it might have proved in accessible situations, in these remote regions it was of little worth to them. But, from the wandering tribes of savages whom they had occasionally met in their path, they learned that at ten days' distance was a rich and fruitful land abounding with gold, and inhabited by populous nations. Gonzalo Pizarro had already reached the limits originally proposed for the expedition. But this intelligence renewed his hopes, and he resolved to push the adventure farther. It would have been well for him and his followers, had they been content to return on their footsteps.

Continuing their march, the country now spread out into broad savannas terminated by forests, which, as they drew near, seemed to stretch on every side to the

* *Canela* is the Spanish for cinnamon.

very verge of the horizon. Here they beheld trees of that stupendous growth seen only in the equinoctial regions. Some were so large, that sixteen men could hardly encompass them with extended arms! * The wood was thickly matted with creepers and parasitical vines, which hung in gaudy-coloured festoons from tree to tree, clothing them in a drapery beautiful to the eye, but forming an impenetrable network. At every step of their way, they were obliged to hew open a passage with their axes, while their garments, rotting from the effects of the drenching rains to which they had been exposed, caught in every bush and bramble, and hung about them in shreds.† Their provisions, spoiled by the weather, had long since failed, and the live stock which they had taken with them had either been consumed or made their escape in the woods and mountain passes. They had set out with nearly a thousand dogs, many of them of

* This, allowing six feet for the spread of a man's arms, would be about ninety-six feet in circumference, or thirty-two feet in diameter; larger, probably, than the largest tree known in Europe. Yet it falls short of that famous giant of the forests mentioned by M. de Humboldt as still flourishing in the intendancy of Oaxaca, which, by the exact measurement of a traveller in 1839, was found to be a hundred and twelve feet in circumference at the height of four feet from the ground. This height may correspond with that of the measurement taken by the Spaniards. See a curious and learned article on Forest-trees in No. 124 of the North American Review.

† The dramatist Molina, in his play of "*Las Amazonas en las Indias*," has devoted some dozen columns of *redondillas* to an account of the sufferings of his countrymen in the expedition to the Amazon. The poet reckoned confidently on the patience of his audience. The following verses describe the miserable condition to which the Spaniards were reduced by the incessant rains.

"Sin que el sol en este tiempo
Su cara vér nos permita,
Ni las nubes taberneras
Cessen de echarnos encima
Dilubios inagotables,
Que hasta él alma nos bautizan.
Cayeron los mas enfermos,
Porque las ropas podridas
Con el eterno agua vá,
Nos dexó en las carnes vivas."

the ferocious breed used in hunting down the unfortunate natives. These they now gladly killed, but their miserable carcasses furnished a lean banquet for the famishing travellers; and, when these were gone, they had only such herbs and dangerous roots as they could gather in the forest.*

At length the way-worn company came on a broad expanse of water formed by the Napo, one of the great tributaries of the Amazon, and which, though only a third or fourth rate river in America, would pass for one of the first magnitude in the Old World. The sight gladdened their hearts, as, by winding along its banks, they hoped to find a safer and more practicable route. After traversing its borders for a considerable distance, closely beset with thickets which it taxed their strength to the utmost to overcome, Gonzalo and his party came within hearing of a rushing noise that sounded like subterranean thunder. The river, lashed into fury, tumbled along over rapids with frightful velocity, and conducted them to the brink of a magnificent cataract, which, to their wondering fancies, rushed down in one vast volume of foam to the depth of twelve hundred feet! † The appalling sounds

* Capitulacion con Orellana, MS. —Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxliii.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. ii.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. viii. cap. vi. vii.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii. cap. ii.

The last writer obtained his information, as he tells us, from several who were present in the expedition. The reader may be assured that it has lost nothing in coming through his hands.

† "Al cabo de este largo camino hallaron que el rio hazia vn salto de una peña de mas de dozientas braças de alto: que hazia tan gran ruydo, que lo oyeron mas de seys leguas antes que llegassen a el." (Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii., cap. iii.) I find nothing to confirm or to confute the account of this stupendous cataract in later travellers, not very numerous in

which they had heard for the distance of six leagues were rendered yet more oppressive to the spirits by the gloomy stillness of the surrounding forests. The rude warriors were filled with sentiments of awe. Not a bark dimpled the waters. No living thing was to be seen but the wild tenants of the wilderness, the unwieldy boa, and the loathsome alligator basking on the borders of the stream. The trees towering in wide-spread magnificence towards the heavens, the river rolling on in its rocky bed as it had rolled for ages, the solitude and silence of the scene, broken only by the hoarse fall of waters, or the faint rustling of the woods;—all seemed to spread out around them in the same wild and primitive state as when they came from the hands of the Creator.

For some distance above and below the falls, the bed of the river contracted so that its width did not exceed twenty feet. Sorely pressed by hunger, the adventurers determined, at all hazards, to cross to the opposite side, in hopes of finding a country that might afford them sustenance. A frail bridge was constructed by throwing the huge trunks of trees across the chasm, where the cliffs, as if split asunder by some convulsion of nature, descended sheer down a perpendicular depth of several hundred feet. Over this airy causeway the men and horses succeeded in effecting their passage with the loss of a single Spaniard, who,

these wild regions. The alleged height of the falls, twice that of the great cataract of the Tequendama in the Bogotá, as measured by Humboldt, usually esteemed the highest in America, is not so great as that of some of the cascades thrown over the precipices in Switzerland. Yet the estimates of the Spaniards, who, in the gloomy state of their feelings, were doubtless keenly alive to impressions of the sublime and the terrible, cannot safely be relied on.

made giddy by heedlessly looking down, lost his footing and fell into the boiling surges below.

Yet they gained little by the exchange. The country wore the same unpromising aspect, and the river-banks were studded with gigantic trees, or fringed with impenetrable thickets. The tribes of Indians, whom they occasionally met in the pathless wilderness, were fierce and unfriendly, and they were engaged in perpetual skirmishes with them. From these they learned that a fruitful country was to be found down the river at the distance of only a few days' journey, and the Spaniards held on their weary way, still hoping and still deceived, as the promised land flitted before them, like the rainbow, receding as they advanced.

At length, spent with toil and suffering, Gonzalo resolved to construct a bark large enough to transport the weaker part of his company and his baggage. The forests furnished him with timber; the shoes of the horses which had died on the road or been slaughtered for food, were converted into nails; gum distilled from the trees took the place of pitch; and the tattered garments of the soldiers supplied a substitute for oakum. It was a work of difficulty; but Gonzalo cheered his men in the task, and set an example by taking part in their labours. At the end of two months a brigantine was completed, rudely put together, but strong and of sufficient burden to carry half the company; the first European vessel that ever floated on these inland waters.

Gonzalo gave the command to Francisco de Orellana, a cavalier from Truxillo, on whose courage and devotion to himself he thought he could rely. The

troops now moved forward, still following the descending course of the river, while the brigantine kept alongside; and when a bold promontory or more impracticable country intervened, it furnished timely aid by the transportation of the feebler soldiers. In this way they journeyed, for many a wearisome week, through the dreary wilderness on the borders of the Napo. Every scrap of provisions had been long since consumed. The last of their horses had been devoured. To appease the gnawings of hunger, they were fain to eat the leather of their saddles and belts. The woods supplied them with scanty sustenance, and they greedily fed upon toads, serpents, and such other reptiles as they occasionally found.*

They were now told of a rich district, inhabited by a populous nation, where the Napo emptied into a still greater river that flowed towards the east. It was, as usual, at the distance of several days' journey; and Gonzalo Pizarro resolved to halt where he was, and send Orellana down in his brigantine to the confluence of the waters to procure a stock of provisions, with which he might return and put them in condition to resume their march. That cavalier, accordingly, taking with him fifty of the adventurers, pushed off into the middle of the river, where the stream ran swiftly, and his bark, taken by the current, shot forward with the speed of an arrow, and was soon out of sight.

Days and weeks passed away, yet the vessel did not

* "Yeruas y rayzes, y fruta siluestre, sapos, y culebras, y otras malas sauandijas, si las auia por aquellas montañas que todo les hazia buen estomago a los Españoles; que peor les yua con la falta de cosas tan viles." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii. cap. iv.—Capitulacion con Orellana, MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. viii. cap. vii.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. iii. iv.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxliii.

return; and no speck was to be seen on the waters, as the Spaniards strained their eyes to the farthest point, where the line of light faded away in the dark shadows of the foliage on the borders. Detachments were sent out, and, though absent several days, came back without intelligence of their comrades. Unable longer to endure this suspense, or, indeed, to maintain themselves in their present quarters, Gonzalo and his famishing followers now determined to proceed towards the junction of the rivers. Two months elapsed before they accomplished this terrible journey,—those of them who did not perish on the way,—although the distance probably did not exceed two hundred leagues; and they at length reached the spot so long desired, where the Napo pours its tide into the Amazon, that mighty stream, which, fed by its thousand tributaries, rolls on towards the ocean, for many hundred miles, through the heart of the great continent, —the most majestic of American rivers.

But the Spaniards gathered no tidings of Orellana, while the country, though more populous than the region they had left, was as little inviting in its aspect, and was tenanted by a race yet more ferocious. They now abandoned the hope of recovering their comrades, who they supposed must have miserably perished by famine or by the hands of the natives. But their doubts were at length dispelled by the appearance of a white man wandering half-naked in the woods, in whose famine-stricken countenance they recognized the features of one of their countrymen. It was Sanchez de Vargas, a cavalier of good descent, and much esteemed in the army. He had a dismal tale to tell.

Orellana, borne swiftly down the current of the Napo, had reached the point of its confluence with the Amazon in less than three days; accomplishing in this brief space of time what had cost Pizarro and his company two months. He had found the country altogether different from what had been represented; and, so far from supplies for his countrymen, he could barely obtain sustenance for himself. Nor was it possible for him to return as he had come, and make head against the current of the river; while the attempt to journey by land was an alternative scarcely less formidable. In this dilemma, an idea flashed across his mind. It was to launch his bark at once on the bosom of the Amazon, and descend its waters to its mouth. He would then visit the rich and populous nations that, as report said, lined its borders, sail out on the great ocean, cross to the neighbouring isles, and return to Spain to claim the glory and the guerdon of discovery. The suggestion was eagerly taken up by his reckless companions, welcoming any course that would rescue them from the wretchedness of their present existence, and fired with the prospect of new and stirring adventure,—for the love of adventure was the last feeling to become extinct in the bosom of the Castilian cavalier. They heeded little their unfortunate comrades, whom they were to abandon in the wilderness!*

* This statement of De Vargas was confirmed by Orellana, as appears from the language of the royal grant made to that cavalier on his return to Castile. The document is preserved entire in the Muñoz collection of MSS.

"Haviendo vos ido con ciertos compañeros un rio abajo á buscar comida, con la corriente fuistes metidos por el dicho rio mas de 200 leguas donde no pudistes dar la buelta é por esta necesidad é por la mucha noticia que tuvistes de la grandeza é riqueza de la tierra, posponiendo vuestro peli-

This is not the place to record the circumstances of Orellana's extraordinary expedition. He succeeded in his enterprise. But it is marvellous that he should have escaped shipwreck in the perilous and unknown navigation of that river. Many times his vessel was nearly dashed to pieces on its rocks and in its furious rapids;* and he was in still greater peril from the warlike tribes on its borders, who fell on his little troop whenever he attempted to land, and followed in his wake for miles in their canoes. He at length emerged from the great river; and, once upon the sea, Orellana made for the isle of Cubagua; thence passing over to Spain, he repaired to Court, and told the circumstances of his voyage,—of the nations of Amazons whom he had found on the banks of the river, the El Dorado which report assured him existed in the neighbourhood, and other marvels,—the exaggeration rather than the coinage of a credulous fancy. His audience listened with willing ears to the tales of the traveller; and in an age of wonders, when the mysteries of the East and the West were hourly coming to light, they might be excused for not discerning the true line between romance and reality.†

gro, sin interes ninguno por servir á S. M. os aventurastes á saber lo què havia en aquellas provincias, é ansi descubristes é hallastes grandes poblaciones." Capitulacion con Orellana, MS.

* Condamine, who, in 1743, went down the Amazon, has often occasion to notice the perils and perplexities in which he was involved in the navigation of this river, too difficult, as he says, to be undertaken without the guidance of a skilful pilot. See his Relation Abrégée d'un Voyage fait dans l'Interieur de l'Amérique Méridionale. (Maestricht, 1778.)

† It has not been easy to discern the exact line in later times, with all the lights of modern discovery. Condamine, after a careful investigation, considers that there is good ground for believing in the existence of a community of armed women, once living somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Amazon, though they have now disappeared. It would be

He found no difficulty in obtaining a commission to conquer and colonize the realms he had discovered. He soon saw himself at the head of five hundred followers, prepared to share the perils and the profits of his expedition. But neither he, nor his country, was destined to realise these profits. He died on his outward passage, and the lands washed by the Amazon fell within the territories of Portugal. The unfortunate navigator did not even enjoy the undivided honour of giving his name to the waters he had discovered. He enjoyed only the barren glory of the discovery, surely not balanced by the iniquitous circumstances which attended it.*

One of Orellana's party maintained a stout opposition to his proceedings, as repugnant both to humanity and honour. This was Sanchez de Vargas; and the cruel commander was revenged on him by abandoning him to his fate in the desolate region where he was now found by his countrymen.†

hard to disprove the fact, but still harder, considering the embarrassments in perpetuating such a community, to believe it. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale, p. 99, et seq.

* "His crime is, in some measure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot." (Robertson, America, (ed. London, 1796,) vol. iii. p. 84.) The historian of America does not hold the moral balance with as unerring a hand as usual, in his judgment of Orellana's splendid enterprise. No success, however splendid, in the language of one, not too severe a moralist,

"Can blazon evil deeds or consecrate a crime."

† An expedition more remarkable than that of Orellana was performed by a delicate female, Madame Godin, who, in 1769, attempted to descend the Amazon in an open boat to its mouth. She was attended by seven persons, two of them her brothers, and two her female domestics. The boat was wrecked, and Madame Godin, narrowly escaping with her life, endeavoured with her party to accomplish the remainder of her journey on foot. She saw

The Spaniards listened with horror to the recital of Vargas, and their blood almost froze in their veins as they saw themselves thus deserted in the heart of this remote wilderness, and deprived of their only means of escape from it. They made an effort to prosecute their journey along the banks, but after some toilsome days, strength and spirits failed, and they gave up in despair!

Then it was that the qualities of Gonzalo Pizarro, as a fit leader in the hour of despondency and danger, shone out conspicuous. To advance farther was hopeless. To stay where they were, without food or raiment, without defence from the fierce animals of the forest and the fiercer natives, was impossible. One only course remained; it was to return to Quito. But this brought with it the recollection of the past, of sufferings which they could too well estimate,—hardly to be endured even in imagination. They were now at least four hundred leagues from Quito, and more than a year had elapsed since they had set out on their painful pilgrimage. How could they encounter these perils again?*

them perish, one after another, of hunger and disease, till she was left alone in the howling wilderness. Still, like Milton's lady in Comus, she was permitted to come safely out of all these perils, and, after unparalleled sufferings, falling in with some friendly Indians, she was conducted by them to a French settlement. Though a young woman, it will not be surprising that the hardships and terrors she endured turned her hair perfectly white. The details of the extraordinary story are given in a letter to M. de la Condamine by her husband, who tells them in an earnest, unaffected way that engages our confidence. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale, p. 329, et seq.

* Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii. cap. v.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. viii. cap. viii. — Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. v.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxliii.

One must not expect from these wanderers in the wilderness any

Yet there was no alternative. Gonzalo endeavoured to reassure his followers by dwelling on the invincible constancy they had hitherto displayed; adjuring them to shew themselves still worthy of the name of Castilians. He reminded them of the glory they would for ever acquire by their heroic achievement, when they should reach their own country. He would lead them back, he said, by another route, and it could not be but that they should meet somewhere with those abundant regions of which they had so often heard. It was something, at least, that every step would take them nearer home; and as, at all events, it was clearly the only course now left, they should prepare to meet it like men. The spirit would sustain the body; and difficulties encountered in the right spirit were half vanquished already!

The soldiers listened eagerly to his words of promise and encouragement. The confidence of their leader gave life to the desponding. They felt the force of his reasoning, and, as they lent a willing ear to his assurances, the pride of the old Castilian honour revived in their bosoms, and every one caught somewhat of the generous enthusiasm of their commander. He was, in truth, entitled to their devotion. From the first hour of the expedition, he had freely borne his part in its privations. Far from claiming the advantage of his position, he had taken his lot with the poorest soldier; ministering to the wants of the sick, cheering up the spirits of the desponding, sharing his stinted allowance with his famished followers, bearing his full part in the toil and burden of the march, ever

exact computation of time or distance, destitute, as they were, of the means of making a correct observation of either.

shewing himself their faithful comrade, no less than their captain. He found the benefit of this conduct in a trying hour like the present.

I will spare the reader the recapitulation of the sufferings endured by the Spaniards on their retrograde march to Quito. They took a more northerly route than that by which they had approached the Amazon; and, if it was attended with fewer difficulties, they experienced yet greater distresses from their greater inability to overcome them. Their only nourishment was such scanty fare as they could pick up in the forest, or happily meet with in some forsaken Indian settlement, or wring by violence from the natives. Some sickened and sank down by the way, for there was none to help them. Intense misery had made them selfish; and many a poor wretch was abandoned to his fate, to die alone in the wilderness, or, more probably, to be devoured, while living, by the wild animals which roamed over it.

At length, in June, 1542, after somewhat more than a year consumed in their homeward march, the way-worn company came on the elevated plains in the neighbourhood of Quito. But how different their aspect from that which they had exhibited on issuing from the gates of the same capital two years and a half before, with high romantic hope and in all the pride of military array! Their horses gone, their arms broken and rusted, the skins of wild animals instead of clothes hanging loosely about their limbs, their long and matted locks streaming wildly down their shoulders, their faces burned and blackened by the tropical sun, their bodies wasted by famine and sorely disfigured by scars,—it seemed as if the charnel-house had

given up its dead, as, with uncertain step they glided slowly onwards like a troop of dismal spectres! More than half of the four thousand Indians who had accompanied the expedition had perished, and of the Spaniards only eighty, and many of these irretrievably broken in constitution, returned to Quito.*

The few Christian inhabitants of the place, with their wives and children, came out to welcome their countrymen. They ministered to them all the relief and refreshment in their power; and, as they listened to the sad recital of their sufferings, they mingled their tears with those of the wanderers. The whole company then entered the capital, where their first act—to their credit be it mentioned—was to go in a body to the church, and offer up thanksgivings to the Almighty for their miraculous preservation through their long and perilous pilgrimage.† Such was the end of the expedition to the Amazon; an expedition which, for its dangers and hardships, the length of their duration, and the constancy with which they were endured, stands, perhaps, unmatched in the annals of American discovery.

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. v.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxliii.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii. cap. xv.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

The last historian, in dismissing his account of the expedition, passes a panegyric on the courage and constancy of his countrymen, which we must admit to be well deserved.

"Finalmente, Gonçalo Piçarro entró en el Quito, triunfando del valor, i sufrimiento, i de la constancia, recto, é immutable vigor del animo, pues hombres humanos no se hallan haver tanto sufrido, ni padecido tantas desventuras." Ibid., ubi supra.

† Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. v.

CHAPTER V.

The Almagro Faction. — Their Desperate Condition. — Conspiracy against Francisco Pizarro. — Assassination of Pizarro. — Acts of the Conspirators. — Pizarro's Character.

1541.

When Gonzalo Pizarro reached Quito, he received tidings of an event which shewed that his expedition to the Amazon had been even more fatal to his interest than he had imagined. A revolution had taken place during his absence, which had changed the whole condition of things in Peru.

In a preceding chapter we have seen that, when Hernando Pizarro returned to Spain, his brother the marquess repaired to Lima, where he continued to occupy himself with building up his infant capital, and watching over the general interests of the country. While thus employed, he gave little heed to a danger that hourly beset his path, and this too, in despite of repeated warnings from more circumspect friends.

After the execution of Almagro, his followers, to the number of several hundred, remained scattered through the country; but, however scattered, still united by a common sentiment of indignation against the Pizarros, the murderers, as they regarded them, of their leader. The governor was less the object of these feelings than his brother Hernando, as having been less instrumental in the perpetration of the deed.

Under these circumstances, it was clearly Pizarro's policy to do one of two things; to treat the opposite faction either as friends, or as open enemies. He might conciliate the most factious by acts of kindness, efface the remembrance of past injury, if he could, by present benefits; in short, prove to them that his quarrel had been with their leader, not with themselves, and that it was plainly for their interest to come again under his banner. This would have been the most politic, as well as the most magnanimous course; and, by augmenting the number of his adherents, would have greatly strengthened his power in the land. But, unhappily, he had not the magnanimity to pursue it. It was not in the nature of a Pizarro to forgive an injury, or the man whom he had injured. As he would not, therefore, try to conciliate Almagro's adherents, it was clearly the governor's policy to regard them as enemies,—not the less so for being in disguise,—and to take such measures as, should disqualify them for doing mischief. He should have followed the counsel of his more prudent brother Hernando, and distributed them in different quarters, taking care that no great number should assemble at any one point, or, above all, in the neighbourhood of his own residence.

But the governor despised the broken followers of Almagro too heartily to stoop to precautionary measures. He suffered the son of his rival to remain in Lima, where his quarters soon became the resort of the disaffected cavaliers. The young man was well known to most of Almagro's soldiers, having been trained along with them in the camp under his father's eye, and, now that his parent was removed, they naturally

transferred their allegiance to the son who survived him.

That the young Almagro, however, might be less able to maintain this retinue of unprofitable followers, he was deprived by Pizarro of a great part of his Indians and lands, while he was excluded from the government of New Toledo, which had been settled on him by his father's testament.* Stripped of all means of support, without office or employment of any kind, the men of Chili, for so Almagro's adherents continued to be called, were reduced to the utmost distress. So poor were they, as is the story of the time, that twelve cavaliers who lodged in the same house, could muster only one cloak among them all; and, with the usual feeling of pride that belongs to the poor *hidalgo*, unwilling to expose their poverty, they wore this cloak by turns, those who had no right to it remaining at home.† Whether true or not, the anecdote well illustrates the extremity to which Almagro's faction was reduced. And this distress was rendered yet more galling by the effrontery of their enemies, who, enriched by their forfeitures, displayed before their eyes all the insolent bravery of equipage and apparel that could annoy their feelings.

Men thus goaded by insult and injury were too dangerous to be lightly regarded. But, although Pizarro received various intimations intended to put him on his guard, he gave no heed to them. "Poor devils!" he would exclaim, speaking with contemptuous pity of the men of Chili; "they have had bad luck enough. We will not trouble them further."‡ And so little

* Carta de Almagro, MS. † Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. viii. cap. vi. ‡ Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxliv.

did he consider them, that he went freely about, as usual, riding without attendants to all parts of the town, and to its immediate environs.*

News now reached the colony of the appointment of a judge by the crown to take cognizance of the affairs of Peru. Pizarro, although alarmed by the intelligence, sent orders to have him well entertained on his landing, and suitable accommodations prepared for him on the route. The spirits of Almagro's followers were greatly raised by the tidings. They confidently looked to this high functionary for the redress of their wrongs; and two of their body, clad in suits of mourning, were chosen to go to the north, where the judge was expected to land, and to lay their grievances before him.

But months elapsed, and no tidings came of his arrival, till, at length, a vessel coming into port, announced that most of the squadron had foundered in the heavy storms on the coast, and that the commissioner had probably perished with them. This was disheartening intelligence to the men of Chili, whose "miseries," to use the words of their young leader, "had become too grievous to be borne."† Symptoms of disaffection had already begun openly to manifest themselves. The haughty cavaliers did not always doff their bonnets, on meeting the governor in the street; and on one occasion, three ropes were found suspended from the public gallows, with labels attached to them, bearing the names of Pizarro, Valasquez the

* Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii. cap. vi.

† "My sufferings," says Almagro, in his letter to the Royal Audience of Panamá, "were enough to unsettle my reason." See his Letter in the original, *Appendix, No.* 12.

judge, and Picado the governor's secretary.* This last functionary was peculiary odious to Almagro and his followers. As his master knew neither how to read nor write, all his communications passed through Picado's hands; and, as the latter was of a hard and arrogant nature, greatly elated by the consequence which his position gave him, he exercised a mischievous influence on the governor's measures. Almagro's poverty-stricken followers were the objects of his open ridicule, and he revenged the insult now offered him by riding before their young leader's residence, displaying a tawdry magnificence in his dress, sparkling with gold and silver, and with the inscription, "For the men of Chili," set in his bonnet. It was a foolish taunt; but the poor cavaliers who were the object of it, made morbidly sensitive by their sufferings, had not the philosophy to despise it.†

At length, disheartened by the long protracted coming of Vaca de Castro, and still more by the recent reports of his loss, Almagro's faction, despairing of redress from a legitimate authority, determined to take it into their own hands. They came to the desperate resolution of assassinating Pizarro. The day named

* "Hizo Picado el secreptario del Marquez mucho daño a muchos, porque el marquez don Francisco Piçarro como no savia ler ni escrivir fiavase del y no hacia mas de lo que el le aconsejava y ansi hizo este mucho mal en estos rreinos, porque el que no andava á su voluntad sirviendole aunque tuviese meritos le destruya y este Picado fue causa de que los de Chile tomasen mas odio al marquez por donde le mataron. Porque queria este que todos lo reverenciasen, y los de Chile no hazian caso dél, y por esta causa los perseguia este mucho, y ansi vinieron á hazer lo que hizieron los de Chile." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Also Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. vi.

† Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii. cap. vi. — Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. x. cap. ii.

for this was Sunday, the 26th of June, 1541. The conspirators, eighteen or twenty in number, were to assemble in Almagro's house, which stood in the great square next to the cathedral, and, when the governor was returning from mass, they were to issue forth and fall on him in the street. A white flag, unfurled at the same time from an upper window in the house, was to be the signal for the rest of their comrades to move to the support of those immediately engaged in the execution of the deed.*

These arrangements could hardly have been concealed from Almagro, since his own quarters were to be the place of rendezvous. Yet there is no good evidence of his having taken part in the conspiracy.† He was, indeed, too young to make it probable that he took a leading part in it. He is represented by contemporary writers to have given promise of many good qualities, though, unhappily, he was not placed in a situation favourable for their development. He was the son of an Indian woman of Panamá; but from early years had followed the troubled fortunes of his father, to whom he bore much resemblance in his

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1541.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. vi.

† Yet this would seem to be contradicted by Almagro's own letter to the audience of Panamá, in which he states, that, galled by intolerable injuries, he and his followers had resolved to take the remedy into their own hands, by entering the governor's house and seizing his person. (See the original in *Appendix, No.* 12.) It is certain, however, that, in the full accounts we have of the affair by writers who had the best means of information, we do not find Almagro's name mentioned as one who took an active part in the tragic drama. His own letter merely expresses that it was his purpose to have taken part in it, with the further declaration, that it was simply to seize, not to slay, Pizarro;—a declaration that no one who reads the history of the transaction will be very ready to credit.

free and generous nature, as well as in the violence of his passions. His youth and inexperience disqualified him from taking the lead in the perplexing circumstances in which he was placed, and made him little more than a puppet in the hands of others.*

The most conspicuous of his advisers was Juan de Herrada, or Rada, as his name is more usually spelt; a cavalier of respectable family, but who, having early enlisted as a common soldier, had gradually risen to the highest posts in the army by his military talents. At this time he was well advanced in years; but the fires of youth were not quenched in his bosom, and he burned with desire to avenge the wrongs done to his ancient commander. The attachment which he had ever felt for the elder Almagro, he seems to have transferred in full measure to his son; and it was apparently with reference to him, even more than to himself, that he devised this audacious plot, and prepared to take the lead in the execution of it.

There was one, however, in the band of conspirators who felt some compunctions of conscience at the part he was acting, and who relieved his bosom by revealing the whole plot to his confessor. The latter lost no time in reporting it to Picado, by whom in turn it was communicated to Pizarro. But, strange to say, it made little more impression on the governor's mind than the vague warnings he had so frequently received. "It is a device of the priest," said he; "he

* "Mancebo virtuoso, i de grande animo, i bien enseñado: i especialmente se havia exercitado mucho en cavalgar á caballo, de ambas sillas, lo qual hacia con mucha gracia i destreça; i tambien en escrevir i leer, lo qual hacia mas liberalmente, i mejor de lo que requeria su profesion. De este teniacargo, como aio, Juan de Herrada." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. vi.

wants a mitre." * Yet he repeated the story to the judge Velasquez, who, instead of ordering the conspirators to be seized, and the proper steps taken for learning the truth of the accusation, seemed to be possessed with the same infatuation as Pizarro; and he bade the governor be under no apprehension, "for no harm should come to him, while the rod of justice," not a metaphorical badge of authority in Castile, "was in his hands." † Still, to obviate every possibility of danger, it was deemed prudent for Pizarro to abstain from going to mass on Sunday, and to remain at home on pretence of illness.

On the day appointed Rada and his companions met in Almagro's house, and waited with anxiety for the hour when the governor should issue from the church. But great was their consternation, when they learned that he was not there, but was detained at home, as currently reported, by illness. Little doubting that their design was discovered, they felt their own ruin to be the inevitable consequence, and that, too, without enjoying the melancholy consolation of having struck the blow for which they had incurred it. Greatly perplexed, some were for disbanding, in the hope that Pizarro might, after all, be ignorant of their design. But most were for carrying it into execution at once, by assaulting him in his own house. The question

* "Pues un dia antes un sacerdote clerigo llamado Benao fue de noche y avisso á Picado el secreptaro, y dixole, 'Mañana Domingo, quando el Marquez saliere á misa, tienen concertado los de Chile de matar al Marquez y á vos y á sus amigos. Esto me a dicho vno en confision, para que os venga á avisar.' Pues savido esto Picado se fue luego y lo conto al Marquez, y el le rrespondio, 'Ese clerigo obispado quiere.'" Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

† "El Juan Velazquez le dixo, 'No tema vuestra señoria que mientras yo tuviere esta vara en la mano nadie se atrevera.'" Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

was summarily decided by one of the party, who felt that in this latter course lay their only chance of safety. Throwing open the doors, he rushed out, calling on his comrades "to follow him, or he would proclaim the purpose for which they had met." There was no longer hesitation, and the cavaliers issued forth, with Rada at their head, shouting, as they went, "Long live the king! Death to the tyrant!" *

It was the hour of dinner, which, in this primitive age of the Spanish colonies, was at noon. Yet numbers, roused by the cries of the assailants, came out into the square to inquire the cause. "They are going to kill the Marquess," some said very coolly; others replied, "It is Picado." No one stirred in their defence. The power of Pizarro was not seated in the hearts of his people.

As the conspirators traversed the *plaza*, one of the party made a circuit to avoid a little pool of water that lay in their path. "What!" exclaimed Rada, "afraid of wetting your feet, when you are to wade up to your knees in blood!" And he ordered the man to give up the enterprise and go home to his quarters. The anecdote is characteristic.†

The governor's palace stood on the opposite side of the square. It was approached by two court-yards. The entrance to the outer one was protected by a

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. x. cap. vi. — Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.— Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. viii.—Naharro, Rel. Sumaria, MS. — Carta del Maestro, Martin de Arauco, MS., 15 de Julio, 1541.

† "Gomez Perez, por haver alli agua derramada de una acequia, rodeo algun tanto por no mojarse: reparó en ello Juan de Rada, y entrandose atrevido por el agua le, dijo, '¿Bamos á bañarnos en sangre humana, y rehusais mojaros los pies en agua? Ea volveos, Hizolo volver, y no asistió al hecho.'" Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1541.

massive gate, capable of being made good against a hundred men or more. But it was left open, and the assailants, hurrying through to the inner court, still shouting their fearful battle-cry, were met by two domestics loitering in the yard. One of these they struck down. The other, flying in all haste towards the house, called out, "Help, help! the men of Chili are all coming to murder the Marquess!"

Pizarro at this time was at dinner, or, more probably, had just dined. He was surrounded by a party of friends, who had dropped in, it seems, after mass, to inquire after the state of his health, some of whom had remained to partake of his repast. Among these was Don Martinez de Alcantara, Pizarro's half-brother by the mother's side, the judge Velasquez, the bishop elect of Quito, and several of the principal cavaliers in the place, to the number of fifteen or twenty. Some of them, alarmed by the uproar in the court-yard, left the saloon, and, running down to the first landing on the stairway, inquired into the cause of the disturbance. No sooner were they informed of it by the cries of the servant, than they retreated with precipitation into the house; and, as they had no mind to abide the storm unarmed, or at best imperfectly armed, as most of them were, they made their way to a corridor that overlooked the gardens, into which they easily let themselves down without injury. Velasquez, the judge, the better to have the use of his hands in the descent, held his rod of office in his mouth, thus taking care, says a caustic old chronicler, not to falsify his assurance, that "no harm should come to Pizarro while the rod of justice was in his hands!" *

* "En lo qual no paresce haver quebrantado su palabra, porque despues huiendo (como adelante se dirá) al tiempo, que

Meanwhile, the Marquess, learning the nature of the tumult, called out to Francisco de Chaves, an officer high in his confidence, and who was in the outer apartment opening on the staircase, to secure the door, while he and his brother Alcantara buckled on their armour. Had this order, coolly given, been as coolly obeyed, it would have saved them all, since the entrance could easily have been maintained against a much larger force, till the report of the cavaliers who had fled had brought support to Pizarro. But unfortunately, Chaves, disobeying his commander, half opened the door, and attempted to enter into a parley with the conspirators. The latter had now reached the head of the stairs, and cut short the debate by running Chaves through the body, and tumbling his corpse down into the area below. For a moment they were kept at bay by the attendants of the slaughtered cavalier; but these, too, were quickly despatched, and Rada and his companions, entering the apartment, hurried across it, shouting out, "Where is the Marquess? Death to the tyrant!"

Martinez de Alcantara, who, in the adjoining room, was assisting his brother to buckle on his mail, no sooner saw that the entrance to the antechamber had been gained, than he sprang to the doorway of the apartment, and, assisted by two young men, pages of Pizarro, and by one or two cavaliers in attendance, endeavoured to resist the approach of the assailants.

quisieron matar al Marques, se hecho de vna ventana abajo á la huerta, llevando la vara en la boca." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. vii.

Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS. — Carta del Maestro, Martin de Arauco, MS.—Carta de Fray Vicente de Valverde á la Audiencia de Panamá, MS., desde Tumbez, 15 Nov. 1541.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxlv.

A desperate struggle now ensued. Blows were given on both sides, some of which proved fatal, and two of the conspirators were slain, while Alcantara and his brave companions were repeatedly wounded.

At length, Pizarro, unable, in the hurry of the moment, to adjust the fastenings of his cuirass, threw it away, and, enveloping one arm in his cloak, with the other seized his sword, and sprang to his brother's assistance. It was too late; for Alcantara was already staggering under the loss of blood, and soon fell to the ground. Pizarro threw himself on his invaders, like a lion roused in his lair, and dealt his blows with as much rapidity and force, as if age had no power to stiffen his limbs. "What ho!" he cried, "traitors! have you come to kill me in my own house?" The conspirators drew back for a moment, as two of their body fell under Pizarro's sword; but they quickly rallied, and, from their superior numbers, fought at great advantage by relieving one another in the assault. Still the passage was narrow, and the struggle lasted for some minutes, till both of Pizarro's pages were stretched by his side, when Rada, impatient of the delay, called out, "Why are we so long about it? Down with the tyrant!" and taking one of his companions, Narvaez, in his arms, he thrust him against the Marquess. Pizarro, instantly grappling with his opponent, ran him through with his sword. But at that moment he received a wound in the throat, and reeling, he sank on the floor, while the swords of Rada and several of the conspirators were plunged into his body. "Jesu!" exclaimed the dying man, and, tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, he bent down his head to kiss it, when a stroke,

more friendly than the rest, put an end to his existence.*

The conspirators, having accomplished their bloody deed, rushed into the street, and, brandishing their dripping weapons, shouted out, "The tyrant is dead! The laws are restored! Long live our master the emperor, and his governor Almagro!" The men of Chili, roused by the cheering cry, now flocked in from every side to join the banner of Rada, who soon found himself at the head of nearly three hundred followers, all armed and prepared to support his authority. A guard was placed over the houses of the principal partisans of the late governor, and their persons were taken into custody. Pizarro's house, and that of his secretary Picado, were delivered up to pillage, and a large booty in gold and silver was found in the former. Picado himself took refuge in the dwelling of Riquelme, the treasurer; but his hiding-place was detected,—betrayed, according to some accounts, by the

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. viii.—Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. x. cap. vi.—Carta de la Justicia y Regimiento de la Ciudad de los Reyes, MS., 15 de Julio, 1541.—Carta del Maestro, Martin de Arauco, MS.—Carta de Fray Vicente Valverde, desde Tumbez, MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., ubi supra.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1541.

Pizarro y Orellana seems to have no doubt that his slaughtered kinsman died in the odour of sanctity.—"Alli le acabaron los traidores enemigos, dandole crueliissimas heridas, con que acabó el Julio Cesar Español, estando tan en si que pidiendo confession con gran acto de contricion, haziendo la señal de la cruz con su misma sangre, y besandola murió." Varones Ilustres, p. 186.

According to one authority, the mortal blow was given by a soldier named Borregan, who, when Pizarro was down, struck him on the back of the head with a water-jar, which he had snatched from the table. (Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. x. cap. vi.) Considering the hurry and confusion of the scene, the different narratives of the catastrophe, though necessarily differing in minute details, have a remarkable agreement with one another.

looks, though not the words, of the treasurer himself, and he was dragged forth and committed to a secure prison.* The whole city was thrown into consternation, as armed bodies hurried to and fro on their several errands, and all who were not in the faction of Almagro trembled lest they should be involved in the proscription of their enemies. So great was the disorder, that the Brothers of Mercy, turning out in a body, paraded the streets in solemn procession, with the host elevated in the air, in hopes by the presence of the sacred symbol to calm the passions of the multitude.

But no other violence was offered by Rada and his followers than to apprehend a few suspected persons, and to seize upon horses and arms wherever they were to be found. The municipality was then summoned to recognize the authority of Almagro; the refractory were ejected without ceremony from their offices, and others of the Chili faction were substituted. The claims of the new aspirant were fully recognized; and young Almagro, parading the streets on horseback, and escorted by a well-armed body of cavaliers, was proclaimed by sound of trumpet governor and captain-general of Peru.

Meanwhile, the mangled bodies of Pizarro and his faithful adherents were left weltering in their blood. Some were for dragging forth the governor's corpse to

* "No se olvidaron de buscar á Antonio Picado, i iendo en casa del tesorero Alonso Riquelme, el mismo iba diciendo, 'No sé adonde está el Señor Picado,' i con los ojos le mostraba, i le hallaron debaxo de la cama." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. x. cap. vii.

We find Riquelme's name, soon after this, enrolled among the municipality of Lima, shewing that he found it convenient to give in his temporary adhesion, at least, to Almagro. Carta de la Justicia y Regimiento de la Ciudad de los Reyes, MS.

the market-place, and fixing his head upon a gibbet. But Almagro was secretly prevailed on to grant the entreaties of Pizarro's friends, and allow his interment. This was stealthily and hastily performed, in the fear of momentary interruption. A faithful attendant and his wife, with a few black domestics, wrapped the body in a cotton cloth and removed it to the cathedral. A grave was hastily dug in an obscure corner, the services were hurried through, and in secrecy, and in darkness dispelled only by the feeble glimmering of a few tapers furnished by these humble menials, the remains of Pizarro, rolled in their bloody shroud, were consigned to their kindred dust. Such was the miserable end of the Conqueror of Peru,—of the man who, but a few hours before, had lorded it over the land with as absolute a sway as was possessed by its hereditary Incas. Cut off in the broad light of day, in the heart of his own capital, in the very midst of those who had been his companions in arms, and shared with him his triumphs and his spoils, he perished like a wretched outcast. "There was none, even," in the expressive language of the chronicler, "to say, 'God forgive him!'" *

A few years later, when tranquillity was restored to the country, Pizarro's remains were placed in a sumptuous coffin and deposited under a monument in a conspicuous part of the cathedral. And in 1607, when time had thrown its friendly mantle over the past, and the memory of his errors and his crimes was merged

* "Murió pidiendo confesion, i haciendo la cruz, sin que nadie dijese, 'Dios te perdone!'" Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxliv. MS. de Caravantes.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. viii. —Carta del Maestro, Martin de Arauco, MS. — Carta de Fray Vicente Valverde, desde Tumbez, MS.

in the consideration of the great services he had rendered to the Crown by the extension of her colonial empire, his bones were removed to the new cathedral, and allowed to repose side by side with those of Mendoza, the wise and good viceroy of Peru.*

Pizarro was, probably, not far from sixty-five years of age at the time of his death; though this, it must be added, is but loose conjecture, since there exists no authentic record of the date of his birth.† He was never married; but by an Indian princess of the Inca blood, daughter of Atahuallpa and granddaughter of the great Huayna Capac, he had two children, a son and a daughter. Both survived him; but the son did not live to manhood. Their mother, after Pizarro's death, wedded a Spanish cavalier, named Ampuero, and removed with him to Spain. Her daughter Francisca accompanied her, and was there subsequently married to her uncle Hernando Pizarro, then a prisoner in the Mota del Medina. Neither the title nor estates of the Marquess Francisco descended to his illegitimate offspring. But in the third generation, in the reign of Philip IV., the title was revived in favour of Don Juan Hernando Pizarro, who, out of gratitude for the services of his ancestor, was created Marquess of the Conquest, (*Marques de la Conquista,*) with a liberal pension from government. His descendants, bearing the same title of nobility, are still to be found, it is said, at Truxillo, in the ancient province of Estremadura, the original birthplace of the Pizarros.‡

* "Sus huesos encerrados en una caxa guarnecida de terciopelo morado con passamanos de oro que yo he visto." MS. de Caravantes.

† Ante, book ii. chap. ii. note *.

‡ MS. de Caravantes.—Quintana, Españoles Celebres, tom. ii. p. 417.

Pizarro's person has been already described. He was tall in stature, well-proportioned, and with a countenance not unpleasing. Bred in camps, with nothing of the polish of a court, he had a soldier-like bearing, and the air of one accustomed to command. But though not polished, there was no embarrassment or rusticity in his address, which, where it served his purpose, could be plausible and even insinuating. The proof of it is the favourable impression made by him, on presenting himself, after his second expedition—stranger as he was to all its forms and usages—at the punctilious court of Castile.

Unlike many of his countrymen, he had no passion for ostentatious dress, which he regarded as an incumbrance. The costume which he most affected on public occasions was a black cloak, with a white hat, and shoes of the same colour; the last, it is said, being in imitation of the Great Captain, whose character he had early learned to admire in Italy, but to which his own, certainly, bore very faint resemblance.*

See also the *Discurso, Legal y Politico,* annexed by Pizarro y Orellana to his bulky tome, in which that cavalier urges the claims of Pizarro. It is in the nature of a memorial to Philip IV. in behalf of Pizarro's descendants, in which the writer, after setting forth the manifold services of the Conqueror, shews how little his posterity had profited by the magnificent grants conferred on him by the Crown. The argument of the royal counsellor was not without its effect.

* Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxliv. — Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. ix.

The portrait of Pizarro, in the viceregal palace at Lima, represents him in a citizen's dress, with a sable cloak,—the *capa y espada* of a Spanish gentleman. Each panel in the spacious *sala de los Vireyes* was reserved for the portrait of a viceroy. The long file is complete, from Pizarro to Pezuela; and it is a curious fact, noticed by Stevenson, that the last panel was exactly filled when the reign of the viceroys was abruptly terminated by the Revolution. (Residence in South America, vol. i. p. 228.) It is a singular coincidence, that the same thing should have occurred at

He was temperate in eating, drank sparingly, and usually rose an hour before dawn. He was punctual in attendance to business, and shrunk from no toil. He had, indeed, great powers of patient endurance. Like most of his nation, he was fond of play, and cared little for the quality of those with whom he played; though, when his antagonist could not afford to lose, he would allow himself, it is said, to be the loser; a mode of conferring an obligation much commended by a Castilian writer for its delicacy.*

Though avaricious, it was in order to spend, and not to hoard. His ample treasures, more ample than those, probably, that ever before fell to the lot of an adventurer,† were mostly dissipated in his enterprises, his architectural works, and schemes of public improvement, which, in a country where gold and silver might be said to have lost their value from their abundance, absorbed an incredible amount of money. While he regarded the whole country, in a manner, as his own, and distributed it freely among his captains, it is certain that the princely grant of a territory with twenty thousand vassals, made to him by the Crown, was never carried into effect; nor did his heirs ever reap the benefit of it.‡

Venice, where, if my memory serve me, the last niche reserved for the effigies of its doges was just filled, when the ancient aristocracy was overturned.

* Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii. cap. ix.

† "Halló i tuvo mas oro i plata que otro ningun Español de quantos han pasado á Indias, ni que ninguno de quantos capitanes han sido por el mundo." Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxliv.

‡ MS. de Caravantes.—Pizarro y Orellana, Discurso Leg. y Pol., ap. Varones Ilust.—Gonzalo Pizarro, when taken prisoner by President Gasca, challenged him to point out any quarter of the country in which the royal grant had been carried into effect by a specific assignment of land to his brother. See Garcilasso, Com. Real, parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxvi.

To a man possessed of the active energies of Pizarro, sloth was the greatest evil. The excitement of play was in a manner necessary to a spirit accustomed to the habitual stimulants of war and adventure. His uneducated mind had no relish for more refined, intellectual recreation. The deserted foundling had neither been taught to read nor write. This has been disputed by some, but it is attested by unexceptionable authorities.* Montesinos says, indeed, that Pizarro, on his first voyage, tried to learn to read; but the impatience of his temper prevented it, and he contented himself with learning to sign his name.† But Montesinos was not a contemporary historian. Pedro Pizarro, his companion in arms, expressly tells us he could neither read nor write;‡ and Zarate, another contemporary, well acquainted with the Conquerors, confirms this statement, and adds, that Pizarro could not so much as sign his name.§ This was done by his secretary—Picado, in his latter years—while the go-

* Even so experienced a person as Muñoz seems to have fallen into this error. On one of Pizarro's letters I find the following copy of an autograph memorandum by this eminent scholar:—*Carta de Francisco Pizarro, su letra i buena letra.*

† "En este viage trató Pizarro de aprender á leer; no le dió su viveza lugar á ello; contentose solo con saber firmar, de lo que se veia Almagro, y decia, que firmar sin saber leer era lo mismo que recibir herida sin poder darla. En adelante firmó siempre Pizarro por si, y por Almagro su secretario." Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1525.

‡ "Porque el Marquez Don Françisco Piçarro como no savia ler ni escrivir." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

§ "Siendo personas," says the author, speaking both of Pizarro and Almagro, "no solamente no leidas, pero que de todo punto no sabian leer, ni aun firmar, que en ellos fue cosa de gran defecto. . . . . Fue el Marqués tan confiado de sus criados i amigos, que todos los despachos que hacia, asi de governacion como de repartimientos de Indios, librabа haciendo él dos señales, en medio de las quales Antonio Picado, su secretario, firmaba el nombre de Françisco Piçarro." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. ix.

vernor merely made the customary *rúbrica* or flourish at the sides of his name. This is the case with the instruments I have examined, in which his signature, written probably by his secretary, or his title of *Marques*, in later life substituted for his name, is garnished with a flourish at the ends, executed in as bungling a manner as if done by the hand of a ploughman. Yet we must not estimate this deficiency as we should in this period of general illumination—general, at least, in our own fortunate country. Reading and writing, so universal now, in the beginning of the sixteenth century might be regarded in the light of accomplishments; and all who have occasion to consult the autograph memorials of that time will find the execution of them, even by persons of the highest rank, too often such as would do little credit to a schoolboy of the present day.

Though bold in action and not easily turned from his purpose, Pizarro was slow in arriving at a decision. This gave him an appearance of irresolution foreign to his character.* Perhaps the consciousness of this led him to adopt the custom of saying "No," at first, to applicants for favour; and afterwards, at leisure, to revise his judgment, and grant what seemed to him expedient. He took the opposite course from his comrade Almagro, who, it was observed, generally said "Yes," but too often failed to keep his promise. This was characteristic of the careless and easy nature of the latter, governed by impulse rather than principle.†

* This tardiness of resolve has even led Herrera to doubt his resolution altogether; a judgment certainly contradicted by the whole tenor of his history. "Porque aunque era astuto i recatado, por la maior parte fue de animo suspenso i no mui resoluto." Hist. General, dec. v. lib. vii. cap. xiii.

† "Tenia por costumbre de

It is hardly necessary to speak of the courage of a man pledged to such a career as that of Pizarro. Courage, indeed, was a cheap quality among the Spanish adventurers, for danger was their element. But he possessed something higher than mere animal courage, in that constancy of purpose which was rooted too deeply in his nature to be shaken by the wildest storms of fortune. It was this inflexible constancy which formed the key to his character, and constituted the secret of his success. A remarkable evidence of it was given in his first expedition, among the mangroves and dreary marshes of Choco. He saw his followers pining around him under the blighting malaria, wasting before an invisible enemy, and unable to strike a stroke in their own defence. Yet his spirit did not yield, nor did he falter in his enterprise.

There is something oppressive to the imagination in this war against nature. In the struggle of man against man, the spirits are raised by a contest conducted on equal terms; but in a war with the elements, we feel, that, however bravely we may contend, we can have no power to control. Nor are we cheered on by the prospect of glory in such a contest; for, in the capricious estimate of human glory, the silent endurance of privations, however painful, is little, in comparison with the ostentatious trophies of victory. The laurel of the hero — alas for humanity that it should be so!—grows best on the battle-field.

This inflexible spirit of Pizarro was shewn still

quando algo le pedian dezir siempre de no. Esto dezia el que hazia por no faltar su palabra; y no obstante que dezia no, correspondia con hazer lo que le pedian no aviendo inconvenimente. . . . . Don Diego de Almagro hera á la contra, que à todos dezia si, y con pocos lo cumplia." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

more strongly, when, in the little island of Gallo, he drew the line on the sand, which was to separate him and his handful of followers from their country and from civilized man. He trusted that his own constancy would give strength to the feeble, and rally brave hearts around him for the prosecution of his enterprise. He looked with confidence to the future, and he did not miscalculate. This was heroic, and wanted only a nobler motive for its object to constitute the true moral sublime.

Yet the same feature in his character was displayed in a manner scarcely less remarkable, when, landing on the coast, and ascertaining the real strength and civilization of the Incas, he persisted in marching into the interior at the head of a force of less than two hundred men. In this he undoubtedly proposed to himself the example of Cortés, so contagious to the adventurous spirits of that day, and especially to Pizarro, engaged, as he was, in a similar enterprise. Yet the hazard assumed by Pizarro was far greater than that of the Conqueror of Mexico, whose force was nearly three times as large, while the terrors of the Inca name—however justified by the result—were as widely spread as those of the Aztecs.

It was doubtless in imitation of the same captivating model that Pizarro planned the seizure of Atahuallpa. But the situations of the two Spanish captains were as dissimilar as the manner in which their acts of violence were conducted. The wanton massacre of the Peruvians resembled that perpetrated by Alvarado in Mexico, and might have been attended with consequences as disastrous, if the Peruvian character had

been as fierce as that of the Aztecs.* But the blow which roused the latter to madness broke the tamer spirits of the Peruvians. It was a bold stroke which left so much to chance, that it scarcely merits the name of policy.

When Pizarro landed in the country, he found it distracted by a contest for the crown. It would seem to have been for his interest to play off one party against the other, throwing his own weight into the scale that suited him. Instead of this, he resorted to an act of audacious violence which crushed them both at a blow. His subsequent career afforded no scope for the profound policy displayed by Cortés, when he gathered conflicting nations under his banner, and directed them against a common foe. Still less did he have the opportunity of displaying the tactics and admirable strategy of his rival. Cortés conducted his military operations on the scientific principles of a great captain at the head of a powerful host. Pizarro appears only as an adventurer, a fortunate knight-errant. By one bold stroke he broke the spell which had so long held the land under the dominion of the Incas. The spell was broken, and the airy fabric of their empire, built on the superstition of ages, vanished at a touch. This was good fortune, rather than the result of policy.

Pizarro was eminently perfidious. Yet nothing is more opposed to sound policy. One act of perfidy fully established becomes the ruin of its author. The man who relinquishes confidence in his good faith gives up the best basis for future operations. Who will knowingly build on a quicksand? By his perfi-

* See Conquest of Mexico, book iv. chap. viii.

dious treatment of Almagro, Pizarro alienated the minds of the Spaniards. By his perfidious treatment of Atahuallpa, and subsequently of the Inca Manco, he disgusted the Peruvians. The name of Pizarro became a by-word for perfidy. Almagro took his revenge in a civil war; Manco in an insurrection which nearly cost Pizarro his dominion. The civil war terminated in a conspiracy which cost him his life. Such were the fruits of his policy. Pizarro may be regarded as a cunning man; but not, as he has been often eulogized by his countrymen, as a politic one.

When Pizarro obtained possession of Cuzco, he found a country well advanced in the arts of civilization: institutions under which the people lived in tranquillity and personal safety; the mountains and the uplands whitened with flocks; the valleys teeming with the fruits of a scientific husbandry; the granaries and warehouses filled to overflowing; the whole land rejoicing in its abundance; and the character of the nation, softened under the influence of the mildest and most innocent form of superstition, well prepared for the reception of a higher and a Christian civilization. But, far from introducing this, Pizarro delivered up the conquered races to his brutal soldiery; the sacred cloisters were abandoned to their lust; the towns and villages were given up to pillage; the wretched natives were parcelled out like slaves, to toil for their conquerors in the mines; the flocks were scattered, and wantonly destroyed; the granaries were dissipated; the beautiful contrivances for the more perfect culture of the soil were suffered to fall into decay; the paradise was converted into a desert. Instead of profiting by the ancient forms of civilization, Pizarro pre-

ferred to efface every vestige of them from the land, and on their ruin to erect the institutions of his own country. Yet these institutions did little for the poor Indian, held in iron bondage. It was little to him that the shores of the Pacific were studded with rising communities and cities, the marts of a flourishing commerce. He had no share in the goodly heritage. He was an alien in the land of his fathers.

The religion of the Peruvian, which directed him to the worship of that glorious luminary which is the best representative of the might and beneficence of the Creator, is perhaps the purest form of superstition that has existed among men. Yet it was much, that, under the new order of things, and through the benevolent zeal of the missionaries, some glimmerings of a nobler faith were permitted to dawn on his darkened soul. Pizarro, himself, cannot be charged with manifesting any overweening solicitude for the propagation of the Faith. He was no bigot, like Cortés. Bigotry is the perversion of the religious principle; but the principle itself was wanting in Pizarro. The conversion of the heathen was a predominant motive with Cortés in his expedition. It was not a vain boast. He would have sacrificed his life for it at any time; and more than once, by his indiscreet zeal, he actually did place his life and the success of his enterprise in jeopardy. It was his great purpose to purify the land from the brutish abominations of the Aztecs, by substituting the religion of Jesus. This gave to his expedition the character of a crusade. It furnished the best apology for the Conquest, and does more than all other considerations towards enlisting our sympathies on the side of the conquerors.

But Pizarro's ruling motives, so far as they can be scanned by human judgment, were avarice and ambition. The good missionaries, indeed, followed in his train to scatter the seeds of spiritual truth, and the Spanish government, as usual, directed its beneficent legislation to the conversion of the natives. But the moving power with Pizarro and his followers was the lust of gold. This was the real stimulus to their toil, the price of perfidy, the true guerdon of their victories. This gave a base and mercenary character to their enterprise; and when we contrast the ferocious cupidity of the conquerors with the mild and inoffensive manners of the conquered, our sympathies, the sympathies even of the Spaniard, are necessarily thrown into the scale of the Indian.*

But as no picture is without its lights, we must not, in justice to Pizarro, dwell exclusively on the darker features of his portrait. There was no one of her sons

* The following vigorous lines of Southey condense, in a small compass, the most remarkable traits of Pizarro. The poet's epitaph may certainly be acquitted of the imputation, generally well deserved, of flattery towards the subject of it.

"FOR A COLUMN AT TRUXILLO.

"Pizarro here was born; a greater name
The list of glory boasts not. Toil and pain,
Famine, and hostile elements, and hosts
Embattled, failed to check him in his course,
Not to be wearied, not to be deterred,
Not to be overcome. A mighty realm
He overran, and with relentless arm
Slew or enslaved its unoffending sons,
And wealth and power and fame were his rewards.
There is another world, beyond the grave,
According to their deeds where men are judged.
O reader! if thy daily bread be earned
By daily labour,—yea, however low,
However wretched, be thy lot assigned,
Thank thou, with deepest gratitude, the God
Who made thee, that thou art not such as he."

to whom Spain was under larger obligations for extent of empire; for his hand won for her the richest of the Indian jewels that once sparkled in her imperial diadem. When we contemplate the perils he braved, the sufferings he patiently endured, the incredible obstacles he overcame, the magnificent results he effected with his single arm, as it were, unaided by the government, —though neither a good, nor a great man in the highest sense of that term, it is impossible not to regard him as a very extraordinary one.

Nor can we fairly omit to notice, in extenuation of his errors, the circumstances of his early life; for, like Almagro, he was the son of sin and sorrow, early cast upon the world to seek his fortunes as he might. In his young and tender age he was to take the impression of those into whose society he was thrown. And when was it the lot of the needy outcast to fall into that of the wise and the virtuous? His lot was cast among the licentious inmates of a camp, the school of rapine, whose only law was the sword, and who looked on the wretched Indian and his heritage as their rightful spoil.

Who does not shudder at the thought of what his own fate might have been, trained in such a school? The amount of crime does not necessarily shew the criminality of the agent. History, indeed, is concerned with the former, that it may be recorded as a warning to mankind; but it is He alone who knoweth the heart, the strength of the temptation, and the means of resisting it, that can determine the measure of the guilt.

CHAPTER VI.

Movements of the Conspirators.—Advance of Vaca de Castro.—Proceedings of Almagro.—Progress of the Governor.—The Forces approach each other.—Bloody Plains of Chupas.—Conduct of Vaca de Castro.

1541—1543.

THE first step of the conspirators, after securing possession of the capital, was to send to the different cities, proclaiming the revolution which had taken place, and demanding the recognition of the young Almagro as governor of Peru. Where the summons was accompanied by a military force, as at Truxillo and Arequipa, it was obeyed without much cavil. But in other cities a colder assent was given, and in some the requisition was treated with contempt. In Cuzco, the place of most importance next to Lima, a considerable number of the Almagro faction secured the ascendency of their party; and such of the magistracy as resisted were ejected from their offices to make room for others of a more accommodating temper. But the loyal inhabitants of the city, dissatisfied with this proceeding, privately sent to one of Pizarro's captains, named Alvarez de Holguin, who lay with a considerable force in the neighbourhood; and that officer, entering the place, soon dispossessed the new dignitaries

of their honours, and restored the ancient capital to its allegiance.

The conspirators experienced a still more determined opposition from Alonso de Alvarado, one of the principal captains of Pizarro,—defeated, as the reader will remember, by the elder Almagro at the bridge of Abancay,—and now lying in the north with a corps of about two hundred men, as good troops as any in the land. That officer, on receiving tidings of his general's assassination, instantly wrote to the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, advising him of the state of affairs in Peru, and urging him to quicken his march towards the south.*

This functionary had been sent out by the Spanish Crown, as noticed in a preceding chapter, to coöperate with Pizarro in restoring tranquillity to the country, with authority to assume the government himself, in case of that commander's death. After a long and tempestuous voyage, he had landed, in the spring of 1541, at the port of Buena Ventura, and, disgusted with the dangers of the sea, preferred to continue his wearisome journey by land. But so enfeebled was he by the hardships he had undergone, that it was full three months before he reached Popayan, where he received the astounding tidings of the death of Pizarro. This was the contingency which had been provided for, with such judicious forecast, in his instructions. Yet he was sorely perplexed by the difficulties of his situation. He was a stranger

* Zarate, Conq., del. Peru, lib. iv. cap. xiii.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. x. cap. vii.—Declaracion de Uscategui, MS. — Carta del Maestro, Martin de Arauco, MS. — Carta de Fray Vicente Valverde, desde Tumbez, MS.

in the land, with a very imperfect knowledge of the country, without an armed force to support him, without even the military science which might be supposed necessary to avail himself of it. He knew nothing of the degree of Almagro's influence, or of the extent to which the insurrection had spread,—nothing, in short, of the dispositions of the people among whom he was cast.

In such an emergency, a feebler spirit might have listened to the counsels of those who advised to return to Panamá, and stay there until he had mustered a sufficient force to enable him to take the field against the insurgents with advantage. But the courageous heart of Vaca de Castro shrunk from a step which would proclaim his incompetency to the task assigned him. He had confidence in his own resources, and in the virtue of the commission under which he acted. He relied, too, on the habitual loyalty of the Spaniards; and, after mature deliberation, he determined to go forward, and trust to events for accomplishing the objects of his mission.

He was confirmed in this purpose by the advices he now received from Alvarado; and without longer delay, he continued his march towards Quito. Here he was well received by Gonzalo Pizarro's lieutenant, who had charge of the place during his commander's absence on his expedition to the Amazon. The licentiate was also joined by Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, who brought a small reinforcement, and offered personally to assist him in the prosecution of his enterprise. He now displayed the royal commission, empowering him, on Pizarro's death, to

assume the government. That contingency had arrived, and Vaca de Castro declared his purpose to exercise the authority conferred on him. At the same time, he sent emissaries to the principal cities, requiring their obedience to him as the lawful representative of the Crown,—taking care to employ discreet persons on the mission, whose character would have weight with the citizens. He then continued his march slowly towards the south.*

He was willing by his deliberate movements to give time for his summons to take effect, and for the fermentation caused by the late extraordinary events to subside. He reckoned confidently on the loyalty which made the Spaniard unwilling, unless in cases of the last extremity, to come into collision with the royal authority; and, however much this popular sentiment might be disturbed by temporary gusts of passion, he trusted to the habitual current of their feelings for giving the people a right direction. In this he did not miscalculate; for so deep-rooted was the principle of loyalty in the ancient Spaniard, that ages of oppression and misrule could alone have induced him to shake off his allegiance. Sad it is, but not strange, that the length of time passed under a bad government has not qualified him for devising a good one.

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. x. cap. iv.—Carta de Benalcazar al Emperador, desde Cali, MS., 20 Septiembre, 1542.

Benalcazar urged Vaca de Castro to assume only the title of Judge, and not that of Governor, which would conflict with the pretensions of Almagro to that part of the country known as New Toledo, and bequeathed to him by his father. "Porque yo le avisé muchas veces no entrase en la tierra como Governador, sino como Juez de V. M. que venia á desagraviar á los agraviados, porque todos lo recibirian de buena gana." Ubi supra.

While these events were passing in the north, Almagro's faction at Lima was daily receiving new accessions of strength. For, in addition to those who, from the first, had been avowedly of his father's party, there were many others who, from some cause or other, had conceived a disgust for Pizarro, and who now willingly enlisted under the banner of the chief that had overthrown him.

The first step of the young general, or rather of Rada, who directed his movements, was to secure the necessary supplies for the troops, most of whom, having long been in indigent circumstances, were wholly unprepared for service. Funds to a considerable amount were raised, by seizing on the moneys of the Crown in the hands of the treasurer. Pizarro's secretary, Picado, was also drawn from his prison, and interrogated as to the place where his master's treasures were deposited. But, although put to the torture, he would not—or, as is probable, could not—give information on the subject; and the conspirators, who had a long arrear of injuries to settle with him, closed their proceedings by publicly beheading him in the great square of Lima.*

Valverde, Bishop of Cuzco, as he himself assures us, vainly interposed in his behalf. It is singular, that, the last time this fanatical prelate appears on the stage, it should be in the benevolent character of a supplicant for mercy.† Soon afterwards he was per-

* Ped. Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Barrio Nuevo, MS. — Carta de Fray Vicente Valverde, desde Tumbez, MS.

† "Siendo informado que andavan ordenando la muerte á Antonio Picado secretario del Marques que tenian preso, fui á Don Diego é á su Capitan General Joan de Herrada é á todos sus capitanes, i les puse delante el servicio de Dios i de S. M. i que

mitted, with the judge, Velasquez, and some other adherents of Pizarro, to embark from the port of Lima. We have a letter from him, dated at Tumbez, in November, 1541; almost immediately after which he fell into the hands of the Indians, and, with his companions, was massacred at Puná. A violent death not unfrequently closed the stormy career of the American adventurer. Valverde was a Dominican friar, and, like Father Olmedo in the suite of Cortés, had been by his commander's side throughout the whole of his expedition. But he did not always, like the good Olmedo, use his influence to stay the uplifted hand of the warrior. At least, this was not the mild aspect in which he presented himself at the terrible massacre of Caxamalca. Yet some contemporary accounts represent him, after he had been installed in his episcopal office, as unwearied in his labours to convert the natives, and to ameliorate their condition; and his own correspondence with the government, after that period, shews great solicitude for these praiseworthy objects. Trained in the severest school of monastic discipline, which too often closes the heart against the common charities of life, he could not, like the benevolent Las Casas, rise so far above its fanatical tenets as to regard the heathen as his brother, while in the state of infidelity; and, in the true spirit of that school, he doubtless conceived that the sanctity of the end justified the means, however revolting in themselves. Yet the same man, who thus freely shed the blood of the poor native to secure the

bastase en lo fecho por respeto de Dios, humillandome á sus pies porque no lo matasen: i no bastó que luego dende á pocos dias lo sacaron á la plaza desta cibdad donde le cortaron la cabeza." Carta de Fray Vicente de Valverde, desde Tumbez, MS.

triumph of his faith, would doubtless have as freely poured out his own in its defence. The character was no uncommon one in the sixteenth century.*

Almagro's followers, having supplied themselves with funds, made as little scruple to appropriate to their own use such horses and arms, of every description, as they could find in the city. And this they did with the less reluctance, as the inhabitants for the most part testified no good-will to their cause. While thus employed, Almagro received intelligence that Holguin had left Cuzco with a force of near three hundred men, with which he was preparing to effect a junction with Alvarado in the north. It was important to Almagro's success that he should defeat this junction. If to procrastinate, was the policy of Vaca de Castro, it was clearly that of Almagro to quicken operations, and to bring matters to as speedy an issue as possible; to march at once against Holguin, whom he might expect easily to overcome with his superior numbers; then to follow up the stroke by the still easier defeat of Alvarado, when the new governor would be, in a manner, at his mercy. It would be easy to beat these several bodies in detail, which, once united, would present formidable odds. Almagro and his party had already arrayed themselves against the government by a proceeding too atrocious, and which struck too directly at the royal authority, for its per-

* "Quel Señor obispo Fray Vicente de Valverde como persona que jamas ha tenido fin ni zelo al servicio de Dios ni de S. M. ni menos en la conversion de los naturales en los poner é dotrinar en las cosas de nuestra santa fée catholica, ni menos en entender en la paz é sosiego destos reynos, sino á sus intereses propios dando mal ejemplo á todos." (Carta de Almagro á la Audiencia de Panamá, MS., 8 de Nov. 1541.) The writer, it must be remembered, was his personal enemy.

petrators to flatter themselves with the hopes of pardon. Their only chance was boldly to follow up the blow, and, by success, to place themselves in so formidable an attitude as to excite the apprehensions of government. The dread of its too potent vassal might extort terms that would never be conceded to his prayers.

But Almagro and his followers shrunk from this open collision with the Crown. They had taken up rebellion because it lay in their path, not because they had wished it. They had meant only to avenge their personal wrongs on Pizarro, and not to defy the royal authority. When, therefore, some of the more resolute, who followed things fearlessly to their consequences, proposed to march at once against Vaca de Castro, and, by striking at the head, settle the contest by a blow, it was almost universally rejected; and it was not till after long debate that it was finally determined to move against Holguin, and cut off his communication with Alonso de Alvarado.

Scarcely had Almagro commenced his march on Xauxa, where he proposed to give battle to his enemy, tha he met with a severe misfortune in the death of Juan de Rada. He was a man somewhat advanced in years; and the late exciting scenes, in which he had taken the principal part, had been too much for a frame greatly shattered by a life of extraordinary hardship. He was thrown into a fever, of which he soon after died. By his death Almagro sustained an inestimable loss; for, besides his devoted attachment to his young leader, he was, by his large experience, and his cautious though courageous character, better qualified than any other cavalier in the army to con-

duct him safely through the stormy sea on which he had led him to embark.

Among the cavaliers of highest consideration after Rada's death, the two most aspiring were Christoval de Sotelo, and Garcia de Alvarado; both possessed of considerable military talent, but the latter marked by a bold, presumptuous manner, which might remind one of his illustrious namesake, who achieved much higher renown under the banner of Cortés. Unhappily, a jealousy grew up between these two officers; that jealousy, so common among the Spaniards, that it may seem a national characteristic; an impatience of equality, founded on a false principle of honour, which has ever been the fruitful source of faction among them, whether under a monarchy or a republic.

This was peculiarly unfortunate for Almagro, whose inexperience led him to lean for support on others, and who, in the present distracted state of his council, knew scarcely where to turn for it. In the delay occasioned by these dissensions, his little army did not reach the valley of Xauxa till after the enemy had passed it. Almagro followed close, leaving behind his baggage and artillery that he might move the lighter. But the golden opportunity was lost. The rivers, swollen by autumnal rains, impeded his pursuit; and, though his light troops came up with a few stragglers of the rear-guard, Holguin succeeded in conducting his forces through the dangerous passes of the mountains, and in effecting a junction with Alonso de Alvarado, near the northern seaport of Huaura.

Disappointed in his object, Almagro prepared to march on Cuzco,—the capital, as he regarded it, of his own jurisdiction,—to get possession of that city,

and there make preparations to meet his adversary in the field. Sotelo was sent forward with a small corps in advance. He experienced no opposition from the now defenceless citizens; the government of the place was again restored to the hands of the men of Chili, and their young leader soon appeared at the head of his battalions, and established his winter-quarters in the Inca capital.

Here, the jealousy of the rival captains broke out into an open feud. It was ended by the death of Sotelo, treacherously assassinated in his own apartment by Garcia de Alvarado. Almagro, greatly outraged by this atrocity, was the more indignant, as he felt himself too weak to punish the offender. He smothered his resentment for the present, affecting to treat the dangerous officer with more distinguished favour. But Alvarado was not the dupe of this specious behaviour. He felt that he had forfeited the confidence of his commander. In revenge, he laid a plot to betray him; and Almagro, driven to the necessity of self-defence, imitated the example of his officer, by entering his house with a party of armed men, who, laying violent hands on the insurgent, slew him on the spot.*

This irregular proceeding was followed by the best consequences. The seditious schemes of Alvarado perished with him. The seeds of insubordination were eradicated, and from that moment Almagro ex-

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. x.—xiv.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxlvii.—Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Carta de Barrio Nuevo, MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vi. lib. x. cap. xiii.; dec. vii. lib. iii. cap. i.—v.

perienced only implicit obedience and the most loyal support from his followers. From that hour, too, his own character seemed to be changed; he relied far less on others than on himself, and developed resources not to have been anticipated in one of his years, for he had hardly reached the age of twenty-two.* From this time he displayed an energy and forecast, which proved him, in despite of his youth, not unequal to the trying emergencies of the situation in which it was his unhappy lot to be placed.

He instantly set about providing for the wants of his men, and strained every nerve to get them in good fighting order for the approaching campaign. He replenished his treasury with a large amount of silver which he drew from the mines of La Plata. Saltpetre, obtained in abundance in the neighbourhood of Cuzco, furnished the material for gunpowder. He caused cannon, some of large dimensions, to be cast under the superintendence of Pedro de Candia, the Greek, who, it may be remembered, had first come into the country with Pizarro, and who, with a number of his countrymen, — Levantines, as they were called,—was well acquainted with this manufacture. Under their care fire-arms were made, together with cuirasses and helmets, in which silver was mingled with copper,† and of so excellent a quality, that they

* "Hiço mas que su edad requeria, porque seria de edad de veinte i dos años." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xx.

† "Y demas de esto hiço armas para la gente de su real, que no las tenia, de pasta de plata i cobre mezclado, de que salen mui buenos coseletes: haviendo corregido, demas de esto, todas las armas de la tierra; de manera, que el que menos armas tenia entre su gente, era cota, i coracinas ó coselete, i celedas de la misma pasta, que los Indios hacen diestramente, por muestras de las de Milán." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xiv.

might vie, says an old soldier of the time, with those from the workshops of Milan.* Almagro received a seasonable supply, moreover, from a source scarcely to have been expected. This was from Manco, the wandering Inca, who, detesting the memory of Pizarro, transferred to the young Almagro the same friendly feelings which he had formerly borne to his father; heightened, it may be, by the consideration that Indian blood flowed in the veins of the young commander. From this quarter Almagro obtained a liberal supply of swords, spears, shields, and arms and armour of every description, chiefly taken by the Inca at the memorable siege of Cuzco. He also received the gratifying assurance, that the latter would support him with a detachment of native troops when he opened the campaign.

Before making a final appeal to arms, however, Almagro resolved to try the effect of negotiation with the new governor. In the spring, or early in the summer, of 1542, he sent an embassy to the latter, then at Lima, in which he deprecated the necessity of taking arms against an officer of the Crown. His only desire, he said, was to vindicate his own rights; to secure the possession of New Toledo, the province bequeathed to him by his father, and from which he had been most unjustly excluded by Pizarro. He did not dispute the governor's authority over New Castile, as the country was designated which had been assigned to the Marquess; and he concluded by proposing that each party should remain within his respective territory until the determination of the Court of Castile

* "Hombres de armas con tan buenas celadas borgoñesas como se hacen en Milan." Carta de Ventura Beltran al Emperador, MS., desde Vilcas, 8 Octubre, 1542.

could be made known to them. To this application, couched in respectful terms, Almagro received no answer.

Frustrated in his hopes of a peaceful accommodation, the young captain now saw that nothing was left but the arbitrament of arms. Assembling his troops, preparatory to his departure from the capital, he made them a brief address. He protested that the step which he and his brave companions were about to take was not an act of rebellion against the Crown. It was forced on them by the conduct of the governor himself. The commission of that officer gave him no authority over the territory of New Toledo, settled on Almagro's father, and by his father bequeathed to him. If Vaca de Castro, by exceeding the limits of his authority, drove him to hostilities, the blood spilt in the quarrel would lie on the head of that commander, not on his. "In the assassination of Pizarro," he continued, "we took that justice into our own hands which elsewhere was denied us. It is the same now, in our contest with the royal governor. We are as true-hearted and loyal subjects of the Crown as he is." And he concluded by invoking his soldiers to stand by him heart and hand in the approaching contest, in which they were all equally interested with himself.

The appeal was not made to an insensible audience. There were few among them who did not feel that their fortunes were indissolubly connected with those of their commander; and while they had little to expect from the austere character of the governor, they were warmly attached to the person of their young chief, who, with all the popular qualities of his father, excited additional sympathy from the circumstances of

his age and his forlorn condition. Laying their hands on the cross, placed on an altar raised for the purpose, the officers and soldiers severally swore to brave every peril with Almagro, and remain true to him to the last.

In point of numbers his forces had not greatly strengthened since his departure from Lima. He mustered but little more than five hundred in all; but among them were his father's veterans, well seasoned by many an Indian campaign. He had about two hundred horse, many of them clad in complete mail, a circumstance not too common in these wars, where a stuffed doublet of cotton was often the only panoply of the warrior. His infantry, formed of pikemen and arquebusiers, was excellently armed. But his strength lay in his heavy ordnance, consisting of sixteen pieces, eight large and eight smaller guns, or falconets, as they were called, forming, says one who saw it, a beautiful park of artillery, that would have made a brave show on the citadel of Burgos.* The little army, in short, though not imposing from its numbers, was under as good discipline, and as well appointed, as any that ever fought on the fields of Peru; much better than any which Almagro's own father or Pizarro ever led into the field and won their conquests with. Putting himself at the head of his gallant company, the chieftain sallied forth from the walls of Cuzco about midsummer, in 1542, and directed his march towards the coast, in expectation of meeting the enemy.†

* "El artilleria hera suficiente para hazer bateria en el castillo de Burgos." Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carvajal sobre la pregunta 38 de la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.

† Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Garcilasso, Com.

While the events detailed in the preceding pages were passing, Vaca de Castro, whom we left at Quito in the preceding year, was advancing slowly towards the south. His first act, after leaving that city, shewed his resolution to enter into no compromise with the assassins of Pizarro. Benalcazar, the distinguished officer whom I have mentioned as having early given in his adherence to him, had protected one of the principal conspirators, his personal friend, who had come into his power, and had facilitated his escape. The governor, indignant at the proceeding, would listen to no explanation, but ordered the offending officer to return to his own district of Popayan. It was a bold step, in the precarious state of his own fortunes.

As the governor pursued his march he was well received by the people on the way; and when he entered the cities of San Miguel and of Truxillo, he was welcomed with loyal enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who readily acknowledged his authority, though they shewed little alacrity to take their chance with him in the coming struggle.

After lingering a long time in each of these places, he resumed his march and reached the camp of Alonso de Alvarado at Huaura, early in 1542. Holguin had established his quarters at some little distance from his rival; for a jealousy had sprung up, as usual, between these two captains, who both aspired to the supreme command of Captain-General of the army. The office of governor, conferred on Vaca de Castro, might seem to include that of commander-in-

Real., parte ii. lib. ii. cap. xiii.— Carta del Cabildo de Arequipa al Emperador, San Joan de la Frontera, MS., 24 de Sep. 1542.— Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. iii. cap. i. ii.

chief of the forces. But De Castro was a scholar, bred to the law; and, whatever authority he might arrogate to himself in civil matters, the two captains imagined that the military department he would resign into the hands of others. They little knew the character of the man.

Though possessed of no more military science than belonged to every cavalier in that martial age, the governor knew that to avow his ignorance, and to resign the management of affairs into the hands of others, would greatly impair his authority, if not bring him into contempt with the turbulent spirits among whom he was now thrown. He had both sagacity and spirit, and trusted to be able to supply his own deficiencies by the experience of others. His position placed the services of the ablest men in the country at his disposal, and with the aid of their counsels he felt quite competent to decide on his plan of operations, and to enforce the execution of it. He knew, moreover, that the only way to allay the jealousy of the two parties in the present crisis was to assume himself the office which was the cause of their dissension.

Still he approached his ambitious officers with great caution; and the representations, which he made through some judicious persons who had the most intimate access to them, were so successful, that both were in a short time prevailed on to relinquish their pretensions in his favour. Holguin, the more unreasonable of the two, then waited on him in his rival's quarters, where the governor had the further satisfaction to reconcile him to Alonso de Alvarado. It required some address, as their jealousy of each other

had proceeded to such lengths that a challenge had passed between them.

Harmony being thus restored, the licentiate passed over to Holguin's camp, where he was greeted with salvoes of artillery, and loud acclamations of "Viva el Rey!" from the loyal soldiery. Ascending a platform covered with velvet, he made an animated harangue to the troops; his commission was read aloud by the secretary; and the little army tendered their obedience to him as the representative of the Crown.

Vaca de Castro's next step was to send off the greater part of his force in the direction of Xauxa, while, at the head of a small corps, he directed his march towards Lima. Here he was received with lively demonstrations of joy by the citizens, who were generally attached to the cause of Pizarro, the founder and constant patron of their capital. Indeed, the citizens had lost no time after Almagro's departure in expelling his creatures from the municipality, and reasserting their allegiance. With these favourable dispositions towards himself, the governor found no difficulty in obtaining a considerable loan of money from the wealthier inhabitants. But he was less successful, at first, in his application for horses and arms, since the harvest had been too faithfully gleaned, already, by the men of Chili. As, however, he prolonged his stay some time in the capital, he obtained important supplies, before he left it, both of arms and ammunition, while he added to his force by a considerable body of recruits.*

* Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. i. cap. i.—Carta de Barrio Nuevo, MS.—Carta de Benalcazar al Emperador, MS.

As he was thus employed, he received tidings that the enemy had left Cuzco, and was on his march towards the coast. Quitting Los Reyes, therefore, with his trusty followers, Vaca de Castro marched at once to Xauxa, the appointed place of rendezvous. Here he mustered his forces and found that they amounted to about seven hundred men. The cavalry, in which lay his strength, was superior in numbers to that of his antagonist, but neither so well mounted or armed. It included many cavaliers of birth, and well-tried soldiers, besides a number who, having great interests at stake, as possessed of large estates in the country, had left them at the call of government, to enlist under its banners.* His infantry, besides pikes, was indifferently well supplied with fire-arms; but he had nothing to shew in the way of artillery except three or four ill-mounted falconets. Yet, notwithstanding these deficiencies, the royal army, if so insignificant a force can deserve that name, was so far superior in numbers to that of his rival, that the one might be thought, on the whole, to be no unequal match for the other.†

* The municipality of Arequipa, most of whose members were present in the army, stoutly urge their claims to a compensation for thus promptly leaving their estates, and taking up arms at the call of government. Without such reward, they say, their patriotic example will not often be followed. The document, which is important for its historical details, may be found in the Castilian, in *Appendix, No. 13.*

† Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xv.—Carta de Barrio Nuevo, MS.

Carbajal notices the politic manner in which his commander bribed recruits into his service,—paying them with promises and fair words when ready money failed him. "Dando á unos dineros, é á otros armas i caballos, i á otros palabras, i á otros promesas, i á otros graziosas respuestas de lo que con él negoziaban, para tenerlos á todos muy conttentos i presttos en el servicio de S. M. quando fuese menestter." Dicho del Capitan Fran-

The reader, familiar with the large masses employed in European warfare, may smile at the paltry forces of the Spaniards. But in the New World, where a countless host of natives went for little, five hundred well-trained Europeans were regarded as a formidable body. No army, up to the period before us, had ever risen to a thousand. Yet it is not numbers, as I have already been led to remark, that give importance to a conflict; but the consequences that depend on it,—the magnitude of the stake, and the skill and courage of the players. The more limited the means, even, the greater may be the science shewn in the use of them; until, forgetting the poverty of the materials, we fix our attention on the conduct of the actors, and the greatness of the results.

While at Xauxa Vaca de Castro received an embassy from Gonzalo Pizarro, returned from his expedition from the "Land of Cinnamon," in which that chief made an offer of his services in the approaching contest. The governor's answer shewed that he was not wholly averse to an accommodation with Almagro, provided it could be effected without compromising the royal authority. He was willing, perhaps, to avoid the final trial by battle, when he considered, that, from the equality of the contending forces, the issue must be extremely doubtful. He knew that the presence of Pizarro in the camp, the detested enemy of the Almagrians, would excite distrust in their bosoms that would probably baffle every effort at accommodation. Nor is it likely that the governor cared to have so restless a spirit intro-

cisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.

duced into his own councils. He accordingly sent to Gonzalo, thanking him for the promptness of his support, but courteously declined it, while he advised him to remain in his province, and repose after the fatigues of his wearisome expedition. At the same time, he assured him that he would not fail to call for his services when occasion required it.—The haughty cavalier was greatly disgusted by the repulse.*

The governor now received such an account of Almagro's movements as led him to suppose that he was preparing to occupy Guamanga, a fortified place of considerable strength, about thirty leagues from Xauxa.† Anxious to secure this post, he broke up his encampment, and by forced maches, conducted in so irregular a manner as must have placed him in great danger if his enemy had been near to profit by it, he succeeded in anticipating Almagro, and threw himself into the place while his antagonist was at Bilcas, some ten leagues distant.

At Guamanga Vaca de Castro received another embassy from Almagro, of similar import with the former. The young chief again deprecated the existence of hostilities between brethren of the same family, and proposed an accommodation of the quarrel on the same basis as before. To these proposals the governor now condescended to reply. It might be thought, from his answer, that he felt some compassion for the youth and inexperience of Almagro, and that he was willing to distinguish between him and the principal conspirators, provided he could detach him from their interests. But it is more probable

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xv.

† Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. lxxxv.

that he intended only to amuse his enemy by a show of negotiation, while he gained time for tampering with the fidelity of his troops.

He insisted that Almagro should deliver up to him all those immediately implicated in the death of Pizarro, and should then disband his forces. On these conditions the government would pass over his treasonable practices, and he should be reinstated in the royal favour. Together with this mission, Vaca de Castro, it is reported, sent a Spaniard, disguised as an Indian, who was instructed to communicate with certain officers in Almagro's camp, and prevail on them, if possible, to abandon his cause and return to their allegiance. Unfortunately, the disguise of the emissary was detected. He was seized, put to the torture, and, having confessed the whole of the transaction, was hanged as a spy.

Almagro laid the proceeding before his captains. The terms proffered by the governor were such as no man with a particle of honour in his nature could entertain for a moment; and Almagro's indignation, as well as that of his companions, was heightened by the duplicity of their enemy, who could practise such insidious arts, while ostensibly engaged in a fair and open negotiation. Fearful, perhaps, lest the tempting offers of their antagonist might yet prevail over the constancy of some of the weaker spirits among them, they demanded that all negotiation should be broken off, and that they should be led at once against the enemy.*

* Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.— Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xvi. — Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. iii. cap. viii. —Carta de Ventura Beltran, MS. — Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxlix.

The governor, meanwhile, finding the broken country around Guamanga unfavourable for his cavalry, on which he mainly relied, drew off his forces to the neighbouring lowlands, known as the plains of Chupas. It was the tempestuous season of the year, and for several days the storm raged wildly among the hills, and, sweeping along their sides into the valley, poured down rain, sleet, and snow on the miserable bivouacs of the soldiers, till they were drenched to the skin and nearly stiffened by the cold.* At length, on the 16th of September, 1542, the scouts brought in tidings that Almagro's troops were advancing, with the intention, apparently, of occupying the highlands around Chupas. The war of the elements had at last subsided, and was succeeded by one of those brilliant days which are found only in the tropics. The royal camp was early in motion, as Vaca de Castro, desirous to secure the heights that commanded the valley, detached a body of arquebusiers on that service, supported by a corps of cavalry, which he soon followed with the rest of the forces. On reaching the eminence, news was brought that the enemy had come to a halt, and established himself in a strong position at less than a league's distance.

It was now late in the afternoon, and the sun was not more than two hours above the horizon. The governor hesitated to begin the action when they must so soon be overtaken by night. But Alonso de Alvarado assured him that "now was the time; for the spirits of his men where hot for fight, and it was

* "Tuvieron tan gran tempestad de agua, truenos, i nieve, que pensaron perecer; i amaneciendo con dia claro i sereno." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. iii. cap. viii.

better to take the benefit of it than to damp their ardour by delay." The governor acquiesced, exclaiming at the same time, "Oh for the might of Joshua, to stay the sun in his course!"* He then drew up his little army in order of battle, and made his dispositions for the attack.

In the centre he placed his infantry, consisting of arquebusiers and pikemen, constituting the *battle*, as it was called. On the flanks he established his cavalry, placing the right wing, together with the royal standard, under charge of Alonso de Alvarado, and the left under Holguin, supported by a gallant body of cavaliers. His artillery, too insignificant to be of much account, was also in the centre. He proposed himself to lead the van, and to break the first lance with the enemy; but from this chivalrous display he was dissuaded by his officers, who reminded him that too much depended on his life to have it thus wantonly exposed. The governor contented himself, therefore, with heading a body of reserve, consisting of forty horse, to act on any quarter as occasion might require. This corps, comprising the flower of his chivalry, was chiefly drawn from Alvarado's troop, greatly to the discontent of that captain. The governor himself rode a coal-black charger, and wore a rich surcoat of brocade over his mail, through which the habit and emblems of the knightly order of St. James, conferred on him just before his departure from Castile, were conspicuous.† It was a point of honour

* "Y asi Vaca de Castro signió su parescer, temiendo toda via la falta del dia, i dijo, que quisiera tener el poder de Josue, para detener el sol." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xviii.

† "I visto esto por el dicho

with the chivalry of the period to court danger by displaying their rank in the splendour of their military attire and the caparisons of their horses.

Before commencing the assault, Vaca de Castro addressed a few remarks to his soldiers, in order to remove any hesitation that some might yet feel, who recollected the displeasure shewn by the emperor to the victors as well as the vanquished after the battle of Salinas. He told them that their enemies were rebels. They were in arms against him, the representative of the Crown, and it was his duty to quell this rebellion and punish the authors of it. He then caused the law to be read aloud, proclaiming the doom of traitors. By this law, Almagro and his followers had forfeited their lives and property, and the governor promised to distribute the latter among such of his men as shewed the best claim to it by their conduct in the battle. This last politic promise vanquished the scruples of the most fastidious; and, having completed his dispositions in the most judicious and soldier-like manner, Vaca de Castro gave the order to advance.*

As the forces turned a spur of the hills which had hitherto screened them from their enemies, they came in sight of the latter, formed along the crest of a gentle eminence, with their snow-white banners, the

señor governador, mandó dar al arma á mui gran priesa, i mando á este testigo que sacase toda la gente al campo, i el se entró en su tienda á se armar, i dende á poco salió della encima de un cavallo morcillo rabicano armado en blanco i con una ropa de brocado encima de las armas con el abito de Santiago en los pechos." Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.

* The governor's words, says Carbajal, who witnessed their effect, stirred the heart of the troops

distinguishing colour of the Almagrians, floating above their heads, and their bright arms flinging back the broad rays of the evening sun. Almagro's disposition of his troops was not unlike that of his adversary. In the centre was his excellent artillery, covered by his arquebusiers and spearmen; while his cavalry rode on the flanks. The troops on the left he proposed to lead in person. He had chosen his position with judgment, as the character of the ground gave full play to his guns, which opened an effective fire on the assailants as they drew near. Shaken by the storm of shot, Vaca de Castro saw the difficulty of advancing in open view of the hostile battery. He took the council, therefore, of Francisco de Carbajal, who undertook to lead the forces by a circuitous, but safer, route. This is the first occasion on which the name of this veteran appears in these American wars, where it was afterwards to acquire a melancholy notoriety. He had come to the country after the campaigns of forty years in Europe, where he had studied the art of war under the Great Captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova. Though now far advanced in age, he possessed all the courage and indomitable energy of youth, and well exemplified the lessons he had studied under his great commander.

Taking advantage of a winding route that sloped round the declivity of the hills, he conducted the

so that they went to the battle as to a ball. "En pocas palabras comprehendió tan grandes cosas que la gente de S. M. covró tan grande animo con ellas, que tan determinadamente se partieron de alli para ir á los enemigos como si fueron á fiestas donde estuvieran convidados." Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal, sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.

troops in such a manner, that, until they approached quite near the enemy they were protected by the intervening ground. While thus advancing they were assailed on the left flank by the Indian battalions under Paullo, the Inca Manco's brother; but a corps of musketeers, directing a scattering fire among them, soon rid the Spaniards of this annoyance. When, at length, the royal troops, rising above the hill, again came into view of Almagro's lines, the artillery opened on them with fatal effect. It was but for a moment, however, as, from some unaccountable cause, the guns were pointed at such an angle, that, although presenting an obvious mark, by far the greater part of the shot passed over their heads. Whether this was the result of treachery, or merely of awkwardness, is uncertain. The artillery was under the charge of the engineer, Pedro de Candia. This man, who, it may be remembered, was one of the thirteen that so gallantly stood by Pizarro in the island of Gallo, had fought side by side with his leader through the whole of the Conquest. He had lately, however, conceived some disgust with him, and had taken part with the faction of Almagro. The death of his old commander, he may perhaps have thought, had settled all their differences, and he was now willing to return to his former allegiance. At least, it is said, that, at this very time, he was in correspondence with Vaca de Castro. Almagro himself seems to have had no doubt of his treachery. For, after remonstrating in vain with him on his present conduct, he ran him through the body, and the unfortunate cavalier fell lifeless on the field. Then, throwing himself on one of the guns, Almagro gave it a new direction, and that so successfully, that,

when it was discharged, it struck down several of the cavalry.*

The firing now took better effect, and by one volley a whole file of the royal infantry was swept off, and though others quickly stepped in to fill up the ranks, the men, impatient of their sufferings, loudly called on the troopers, who had halted for a moment, to quicken their advance.† This delay had been caused by Carbajal's desire to bring his own guns to bear on the opposite columns. But the design was quickly abandoned; the clumsy ordnance was left on the field, and orders were given to the cavalry to charge; the trumpets sounded, and, crying their war-cries, the bold cavaliers struck their spurs into their steeds, and rode at full speed against the enemy.

Well had it been for Almagro if he had remained firm on the post which gave him such advantage. But from a false point of honour, he thought it derogatory to a brave knight passively to await the assault, and ordering his own men to charge, the hostile squadrons,

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xvii.—xix.— Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS. — Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. iii. cap. xi. — Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.—Carta del Cabildo de Arequipa al Emperador, MS.—Carta de Ventura Beltran, MS.—Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxlix.

According to Garcilasso, whose guns usually do more execution than those of any other authority, seventeen men were killed by this wonderful shot. See Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii. cap. xvi.

† The officers drove the men, according to Zarate, at the point of their swords, to take the places of their fallen comrades. "Porque vn tiro llevo toda vna hilera, é hiço abrir el escuadron, i los capitanes pusieron gran diligencia en hacerlo cerrar, amenaçando de muerte á los soldados, con las espadas *desenvainadas*, i se cerró." Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. i.

rapidly advancing against each other, met midway on the plain. The shock was terrible. Horse and rider reeled under the force of it. The spears flew into shivers;* and the cavaliers, drawing their swords, or wielding their maces and battle-axes—though some of the royal troopers were armed only with a common axe—dealt their blows with all the fury of civil hate. It was a fearful struggle, not merely of man against man, but, to use the words of an eyewitness, of brother against brother, and friend against friend.† No quarter was asked; for the wrench that had been strong enough to tear asunder the dearest ties of kindred, left no hold for humanity. The excellent arms of the Almagrians counterbalanced the odds of numbers; but the royal partisans gained some advantage by striking at the horses instead of the mailed bodies of their antagonists.

The infantry, meanwhile, on both sides, kept up a sharp cross-fire from their arquebuses, which did execution on the ranks of the cavaliers, as well as on one another. But Almagro's battery of heavy guns, now well directed, mowed down the advancing columns of foot. The latter, staggering, began to fall back from

* "Se encontraron de suerte, que casi todas las lanças quebraron, quedando muchos muertos, i caidos de ambas partes." (Zarate, Conq. del. Peru, lib. iv. cap. i.) Zarate writes on this occasion with the spirit and strength of Thucydides. He was not present, but came into the country the following year, when he gleaned the particulars of the battle from the best-informed persons there, to whom his position gave him ready access.

† It is the language of the conquerors themselves, who, in their letter to the Emperor, compare the action to the great battle of Ravenna. "Fue tan reñida i porfiada, que despues de la de Rebena no se ha visto entre tan poca gente mas cruel batalla, donde hermanos á hermanos, ni deudos á deudos, ni amigos á amigos no se davan vida uno á otro." Carta del Cabildo de Arequipa al Emperador, MS.

the terrible fire, when Francisco de Carbajal, throwing himself before them, cried out, "Shame on you, my men! Do you give way now? I am twice as good a mark for the enemy as any of you!" He was a very large man; and, throwing off his steel helmet and cuirass, that he might have no advantage over his followers, he remained lightly attired in his cotton doublet, when, swinging his partisan over his head, he sprang boldly forward through blinding volumes of smoke and a tempest of musket-balls, and, supported by the bravest of his troops, overpowered the gunners, and made himself master of their pieces.

The shades of night had now, for some time, been coming thicker and thicker over the field. But still the deadly struggle went on in the darkness, as the red and white badges intimated the respective parties, and their war-cries rose above the din,—"Vaca de Castro y el Rey!"—"Almagro y el Rey!"—while both invoked the aid of their military apostle St. James. Holguin, who commanded the royalists on the left, pierced through by two musket-balls, had been slain early in the action. He had made himself conspicuous by a rich sobrevest of white velvet over his armour. Still a gallant band of cavaliers maintained the fight so valiantly on that quarter, that the Almagrians found it difficult to keep their ground.*

It fared differently on the right, where Alonso de Alvarado commanded. He was there encountered by Almagro in person, who fought worthy of his name.

* The battle was so equally contested, says Beltran, one of Vaca de Castro's captains, that it was long doubtful on which side victory was to incline. "I la batalla estuvo mui gran rato en peso sin conoscerse vitoria de la una parte á la otra." Carta de Ventura Beltran, MS.

By repeated charges on his opponent, he endeavoured to bear down his squadrons, so much worse mounted and worse armed than his own. Alvarado resisted with undiminished courage; but his numbers had been thinned, as we have seen, before the battle, to supply the governor's reserve, and, fairly overpowered by the superior strength of his adversary, who had already won two of the royal banners, he was slowly giving ground. "Take, but kill not!" shouted the generous young chief, who felt himself sure of victory.*

But at this crisis, Vaca de Castro, who, with his reserve, had occupied a rising ground that commanded the field of action, was fully aware that the time had now come for him to take part in the struggle. He had long strained his eyes through the gloom to watch the movements of the combatants, and received constant tidings how the fight was going. He no longer hesitated, but, calling on his men to follow, led off boldly into the thickest of the *mêlée* to the support of his stout-hearted officer. The arrival of a new corps on the field, all fresh for action, gave another turn to the tide.† Alvarado's men took heart and rallied. Almagro's, though driven back by the fury of the assault, quickly returned against their assailants. Thirteen of Vaca de Castro's cavaliers fell dead from their saddles. But it was the last effort of the Almagrians. Their strength, though not their spirit, failed

* "Gritaba 'Victoria!' i decia prender i no matar." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. iii. cap. xi.

† The letter of the municipality of Arequipa gives the governor credit for deciding the fate of the day by this movement, and the writers express their "admiration of the gallantry and courage he displayed, so little to have been expected from his age and profession." See the original in *Appendix, No.* 18.

them. They gave way in all directions, and, mingling together in the darkness, horse, foot, and artillery, they trampled one another down, as they made the best of their way from the press of their pursuers. Almagro used every effort to stay them. He performed miracles of valour, says one who witnessed them; but he was borne along by the tide, and, though he seemed to court death, by the freedom with which he exposed his person to danger, yet he escaped without a wound.

Others there were of his company, and among them a young cavalier named Gerónimo de Alvarado, who obstinately refused to quit the field; and shouting out, "We slew Pizarro! we killed the tyrant!" they threw themselves on the lances of their conquerors, preferring death on the battle-field to the ignominious doom of the gibbet.*

It was nine o'clock when the battle ceased, though the firing was heard at intervals over the field at a much later hour, as some straggling party of fugitives were overtaken by their pursuers. Yet many succeeded in escaping in the obscurity of night, while some, it is said, contrived to elude pursuit in a more singular way; tearing off the badges from the corpses of their enemies, they assumed them for themselves, and, mingling in the ranks as followers of Vaca de Castro, joined in the pursuit.

That commander, at length, fearing some untoward accident, and that the fugitives, should they rally again under cover of the darkness, might inflict some loss on

* "Se arrojaron en los enemigos, como desesperados, hiriendo á todas partes, diciendo cada vno por su nombre, 'Yo soi Fulano, que maté al Marqués!' i asi anduvieron hasta que los hicieron pedaços." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xix.

their pursuers, caused his trumpets to sound, and recalled his scattered forces under their banners. All night they remained under arms on the field, which, so lately the scene of noisy strife, was now hushed in silence, broken only by the groans of the wounded and the dying. The natives, who had hung, during the fight, like a dark cloud, round the skirts of the mountains, contemplating with gloomy satisfaction the destruction of their enemies, now availed themselves of the obscurity to descend, like a pack of famished wolves, upon the plains, where they stripped the bodies of the slain, and even of the living, but disabled wretches, who had in vain dragged themselves into the bushes for concealment. The following morning, Vaca de Castro gave orders that the wounded—those who had not perished in the cold damps of the night—should be committed to the care of the surgeons, while the priests were occupied with administering confession and absolution to the dying. Four large graves or pits were dug, in which the bodies of the slain—the conquerors and the conquered—were heaped indiscriminately together. But the remains of Alvarez de Holguin and several other cavaliers of distinction were transported to Guamanga, where they were buried with the solemnities suited to their rank; and the tattered banners won from their vanquished countrymen waved over their monuments, the melancholy trophies of their victory

The number of killed is variously reported,—from three hundred to five hundred on both sides.* The mor-

* Zarate estimates the number at three hundred. Uscategui, who belonged to the Almagrian party, and Garcilasso, both rate it as high as five hundred.

tality was greatest among the conquerors, who suffered more from the cannon of the enemy before the action, than the latter suffered in the rout that followed it. The number of wounded was still greater; and full half of the survivors of Almagro's party were made prisoners. Many, indeed, escaped from the field to the neighbouring town of Guamanga, where they took refuge in the churches and monasteries. But their asylum was not respected, and they were dragged forth and thrown into prison. Their brave young commander fled with a few followers only to Cuzco, where he was instantly arrested by the magistrates whom he had himself placed over the city.*

At Guamanga, Vaca de Castro appointed a commission, with the Licentiate de la Gama at its head, for the trial of the prisoners; and *justice* was not satisfied, till forty had been condemned to death, and thirty others—some of them with the loss of one or more of their members—sent into banishment.† Such severe reprisals have been too common with the

* The particulars of the action are gathered from Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Ventura Beltran, MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xvii. — xx. — Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.—Dicho del Capitan Francisco de Carbajal sobre la informacion hecha en el Cuzco en 1543, á favor de Vaca de Castro, MS.—Carta del Cabildo de Arequipa al Emperador, MS.—Carta de Barrio Nuevo, MS.— Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. cxlix.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iii. cap. xv. — xviii.—Declaracion de Uscategui, MS.

Many of these authorities were personally present on the field; and it is rare that the details of a battle are drawn from more authentic testimony. The student of history will not be surprised that in these details there should be the greatest discrepancy.

† Declaracion de Uscategui, MS. — Carta de Ventura Beltran, MS. — Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xxi.

The loyal burghers of Arequipa seem to have been well contented with these executions. "If night had not overtaken us," they say, alluding to the action, in their letter to the emperor, "your Majesty would have had no reason to com-

Spaniards in their civil feuds. Strange that they should so blindly plunge into these, with this dreadful doom for the vanquished!

From the scene of this bloody tragedy, the governor proceeded to Cuzco, which he entered at the head of his victorious battalions, with all the pomp and military display of a conqueror. He maintained a corresponding state in his way of living, at the expense of a sneer from some, who sarcastically contrasted this ostentatious profusion with the economical reforms he subsequently introduced into the finances.* But Vaca de Castro was sensible of the effect of this outward show on the people generally, and disdained no means of giving authority to his office. His first act was to determine the fate of his prisoner, Almagro. A council of war was held. Some were for sparing the unfortunate chief, in consideration of his youth, and the strong cause of provocation he had received. But the majority were of opinion that such mercy could not be extended to the leader of the rebels, and that his death was indispensable to the permament tranquillity of the country.

When led to execution in the great square of Cuzco,—the same spot where his father had suffered but a few years before,—Almagro exhibited the most perfect composure, though, as the herald proclaimed aloud the doom of the traitor, he indignantly denied that he was one. He made no appeal for mercy to his judges, but simply requested that his bones might

plain; but what was omitted then is made up now, since the governor goes on quartering every day some one or other of the traitors who escaped from the field." See the original in *Appendix, No.* 13.

† Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. iv. cap. i.

be laid by the side of his father's. He objected to have his eyes bandaged, as was customary on such occasions, and, after confession, he devoutly embraced the cross, and submitted his neck to the stroke of the executioner. His remains, agreeably to his request, were transported to the monastery of La Merced, where they were deposited side by side with those of his unfortunate parent.*

There have been few names, indeed, in the page of history, more unfortunate than that of Almagro. Yet the fate of the son excites a deeper sympathy than that of the father; and this, not merely on account of his youth, and the peculiar circumstances of his situation. He possessed many of the good qualities of the elder Almagro, with a frank and manly nature, in which the bearing of the soldier was somewhat softened by the refinement of a better education than is to be found in the license of a camp. His career, though short, gave promise of considerable talent, which required only a fair field for its development. But he was the child of misfortune, and his morning of life was overcast by clouds and tempests. If his character, naturally benignant, sometimes shewed the fiery sparkles of the vindictive Indian temper, some apology may be found, not merely in his blood, but in the circumstances of his situation. He was more sinned against than sinning; and, if conspiracy could ever find a justification, it must be in a case like his, where, borne down by injuries heaped on his parent and

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq., del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xxi.—Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. vi. cap. i.

himself, he could obtain no redress from the only quarter whence he had a right to look for it. With him the name of Almagro became extinct, and the faction of Chili, so long the terror of the land, passed away for ever.

While these events were occurring in Cuzco, the governor learned that Gonzalo Pizarro had arrived at Lima, where he shewed himself greatly discontented with the state of things in Peru. He loudly complained that the government of the country, after his brother's death, had not been placed in his hands; and, as reported by some, he was now meditating schemes for getting possession of it. Vaca de Castro well knew that there would be no lack of evil councillors to urge Gonzalo to this desperate step; and, anxious to extinguish the spark of insurrection before it had been fanned by these turbulent spirits into a flame, he detached a strong body to Lima to secure that capital. At the same time he commanded the presence of Gonzalo Pizarro in Cuzco.

That chief did not think it prudent to disregard the summons; and shortly after entered the Inca capital, at the head of a well-armed body of cavaliers. He was at once admitted into the governor's presence, when the latter dismissed his guard, remarking that he had nothing to fear from a brave and loyal knight like Pizarro. He then questioned him as to his late adventures in Canelas, and shewed great sympathy for his extraordinary sufferings. He took care not to alarm his jealousy by any allusion to his ambitious schemes, and concluded by recommending him, now that the tranquillity of the country was re-established, to retire and seek the repose he so much needed, on his

valuable estates at Charcas. Gonzalo Pizarro, finding no ground open for a quarrel with the cool and politic governor, and probably feeling that he was, at least not now, in sufficient strength to warrant it, thought it prudent to take the advice, and withdrew to La Plata, where he busied himself in working those rich mines of silver that soon put him in condition for a more momentous enterprise than any he had yet attempted.*

Thus rid of his formidable competitor, Vaca de Castro occupied himself with measures for the settlement of the country. He began with his army, a part of which he had disbanded. But many cavaliers still remained, pressing their demands for a suitable recompense for their services. These they were not disposed to undervalue, and the governor was happy to rid himself of their importunities by employing them on distant expeditions, among which was the exploration of the country watered by the great river Rio de la Plata. The boiling spirits of the high-mettled cavaliers, without some such vent, would soon have thrown the whole country again into a state of fermentation.

His next concern was to provide laws for the better government of the colony. He gave especial care to the state of the Indian population, and established schools for teaching them Christianity. By various provisions he endeavoured to secure them from the exactions of their conquerors, and he encouraged the poor natives to transfer their own residence to the

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. iv. cap. i.; lib. vi. cap. iii.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. iv. cap. xxii.

communities of the white men. He commanded the caciques to provide supplies for the *tambos*, or houses for the accommodation of travellers, which lay in their neighbourhood; by which regulation he took away from the Spaniards a plausible apology for rapine, and greatly promoted facility of intercourse. He was watchful over the finances, much dilapidated in the late troubles, and in several instances retrenched what he deemed excessive *repartimientos* among the Conquerors. This last act exposed him to much odium from the objects of it. But his measures were so just and impartial, that he was supported by public opinion.*

Indeed, Vaca de Castro's conduct, from the hour of his arrival in the country, had been such as to command respect, and prove him competent to the difficult post for which he had been selected. Without funds, without troops, he had found the country, on his landing, in a state of anarchy; yet, by courage and address, he had gradually acquired sufficient strength to quell the insurrection. Though no soldier, he had shewn undaunted spirit and presence of mind in the hour of action, and made his military preparations with a forecast and discretion that excited the admiration of the most experienced veterans.

If he may be thought to have abused the advantages of victory by cruelty towards the conquered, it must be allowed that he was not influenced by any motives of a personal nature. He was a lawyer, bred in high notions of royal prerogative. Rebellion he looked upon as an unpardonable crime; and, if his austere

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. vi. cap. ii.

nature was unrelenting in the exaction of justice, he lived in an iron age, when justice was rarely tempered by mercy.

In his subsequent regulations for the settlement of the country, he shewed equal impartiality and wisdom. The colonists were deeply sensible of the benefits of his administration, and afforded the best commentary on his services by petitioning the Court of Castile to continue him in the government of Peru.* Unfortunately, such was not the policy of the Crown.

* " I asi lo escrivieron al Rei la ciudad del Cuzco, la villa de la Plata, i otras comunidades, suplicandole, que los dexase por governador á Vaca de Castro, como persona que procedia con rectitud, i que iá entendia el govierno de aquellos reinos." Herrera, Hist. General, Dec. vii. lib. vi. cap. ii.

CHAPTER VII.

Abuses by the Conquerors.—Code for the Colonies.—Great Excitement in Peru.—Blasco Nuñez the Viceroy.—His severe Policy.—Opposed by Gonzalo Pizarro.

1543—1544.

Before continuing the narrative of events in Peru, we must turn to the mother-country, where important changes were in progress in respect to the administration of the colonies.

Since his accession to the crown, Charles V. had been chiefly engrossed by the politics of Europe, where a theatre was opened more stimulating to his ambition than could be found in a struggle with the barbarian princes of the New World. In this quarter, therefore, an empire almost unheeded, as it were, had been suffered to grow up, until it had expanded into dimensions greater than those of his European dominions, and destined soon to become far more opulent. A scheme of government had, it is true, been devised, and laws enacted from time to time for the regulation of the colonies. But these laws were often accommodated less to the interests of the colonies themselves, than to those of the parent country; and when contrived in a better spirit, they were but imperfectly executed; for the voice of authority, however loudly

proclaimed at home, too often died away in feeble echoes before it had crossed the waters.

This state of things, and, indeed, the manner in which the Spanish territories in the New World had been originally acquired, were most unfortunate both for the conquered races and their masters. Had the provinces gained by the Spaniards been the fruit of peaceful acquisition,—of barter and negotiation, or had their conquest been achieved under the immediate direction of government, the interests of the natives would have been more carefully protected. From the superior civilization of the Indians in the Spanish American colonies, they still continued after the Conquest to remain on the ground, and to mingle in the same communities with the white men; in this forming an obvious contrast to the condition of our own aborigines, who, shrinking from the contact of civilization, have withdrawn, as the latter has advanced, deeper and deeper into the heart of the wilderness. But the South American Indian was qualified by his previous institutions for a more refined legislation than could be adapted to the wild hunters of the forest; and, had the sovereign been there in person to superintend his conquests, he could never have suffered so large a portion of his vassals to be wantonly sacrificed to the cupidity and cruelty of the handful of adventurers who subdued them.

But, as it was, the affair of reducing the country was committed to the hands of irresponsible individuals, soldiers of fortune, desperate adventurers, who entered on conquest as a game which they were to play in the most unscrupulous manner, with little care but to win it. Receiving small encouragement from the govern-

ment, they were indebted to their own valour for success; and the right of conquest, they conceived, extinguished every existing right in the unfortunate natives. The lands, the persons of the conquered races were parcelled out and appropriated by the victors as the legitimate spoils of victory; and outrages were perpetrated every day, at the contemplation of which humanity shudders.

These outrages, though nowhere perpetrated on so terrific a scale as in the islands, where, in a few years, they had nearly annihilated the native population, were yet of sufficient magnitude in Peru to call down the vengeance of heaven on the heads of their authors; and the Indian might feel that this vengeance was not long delayed, when he beheld his oppressors wrangling over their miserable spoil, and turning their swords against each other. Peru, as already mentioned, was subdued by adventurers, for the most part, of a lower and more ferocious stamp than those who followed the banner of Cortés. The character of the followers partook, in some measure, of that of the leaders in their respective enterprises. It was a sad fatality for the Incas; for the reckless soldiers of Pizarro were better suited to contend with the fierce Aztec than with the more refined and effeminate Peruvian. Intoxicated by the unaccustomed possession of power, and without the least notion of the responsibilities which attached to their situation as masters of the land, they too often abandoned themselves to the indulgence of every whim which cruelty or caprice could dictate. Not unfrequently, says an unsuspicious witness, I have seen the Spaniards, long after the Conquest, amuse themselves by hunting down the natives

with bloodhounds for mere sport, or in order to train their dogs to the game!* The most unbounded scope was given to licentiousness. The young maiden was torn without remorse from the arms of her family to gratify the passion of her brutal conqueror.† The sacred houses of the Virgins of the Sun were broken open and violated, and the cavalier swelled his harem with a troop of Indian girls, making it seem that the crescent would have been a much more fitting symbol for his banner than the immaculate Cross.‡

But the dominant passion of the Spaniard was the lust of gold. For this he shrunk from no toil himself, and was merciless in his exactions of labour from his Indian slave. Unfortunately, Peru abounded in mines which too well repaid this labour; and human life was the item of least account in the estimate of the Conquerors. Under his Incas, the Peruvian was never suffered to be idle; but the task imposed on him was always proportioned to his strength. He had his seasons of rest and refreshment, and was well protected against the inclemency of the weather. Every care was shewn for his personal safety. But the Spaniards, while they taxed the strength of the native to the utmost, deprived him of the means of repairing it when exhausted. They suffered the provident arrangements of

* "Españoles hai que crian perros carniceros, i los avezan á matar Indios, lo qual procuran á las veces por pasatiempo, i ver si lo hacen bien los perros." Relacion que dió el Provisor Morales sobre las cosas que convenian provarse en el Peru, MS.

† "Que los justicias dan cedulas de Anaconas que por otros terminos los hacen esclavos é vivir contra su voluntad, diciendo: 'Por la presente damos licencia á vos Fulano, para que os podais servir de tal Indio ó de tal India, é lo podais tomar é sacar donde quiera que lo hallaredes.'" Rel. del Provisor Morales, MS.

‡ "Es general el vicio del amancebamiento con Indias, i algunos tienen cantidad dellas como en serralo." Ibid., MS.

the Incas to fall into decay. The granaries were emptied; the flocks were wasted in riotous living. They were slaughtered to gratify a mere epicurean whim, and many a llama was destroyed solely for the sake of the brains,—a dainty morsel, much coveted by the Spaniards.* So reckless was the spirit of destruction after the Conquest, says Ondegardo, the wise governor of Cuzco, that in four years more of these animals perished than in four hundred in the times of the Incas.† The flocks, once so numerous over the broad table-lands, were now thinned to a scanty number, that sought shelter in the fastnesses of the Andes. The poor Indian, without food, without the warm fleece which furnished him a defence against the cold, now wandered half-starved and naked over the plateau. Even those who had aided the Spaniards in the Conquest fared no better; and many an Inca noble roamed a mendicant over the lands where he once held rule; and if driven, perchance, by his necessities, to purloin something from the superfluity of his conquerors, he expiated it by a miserable death.‡

* "Muchos Españoles han muerto i matan increible cantidad de ovejas por comer solo los sesos, hacer pasteles del tuetano, i candelas de la grasa. De ai hambre general." Rel. del Provisor Morales, MS.

† "Se puede afirmar, que hicieron mas daño los Españoles en solos quatro años, que el Ingo en quatrocientos." Ondegardo, Rel. Seg., MS.

‡ "Ahora no tienen que comer ni donde sembrar, i asi van á hurtallo como solian, delito por que han aorcado á muchos." Rel. del Provisor Morales, MS.

This, and some of the preceding citations, as the reader will see, have been taken from the MS. of the Bachelor Luis de Morales, who lived eighteen or twenty years in Cuzco; and, in 1541, about the time of Vaca de Castro's coming to Peru, prepared a Memorial for the government, embracing a hundred and nine chapters. It treats of the condition of the country, and the remedies which suggested themselves to the benevolent mind of its author. The emperor's notes on the margin shew that it received attention at court. There

It is true, there were good men, missionaries, faithful to their calling, who wrought hard in the spiritual conversion of the native, and who, touched by his misfortunes, would gladly have interposed their arm to shield him from his oppressors.* But too often the ecclesiastic became infected by the general spirit of licentiousness; and the religious fraternities, who led a life of easy indulgence on the lands cultivated by their Indian slaves, were apt to think less of the salvation of their souls than of profiting by the labour of their bodies.†

Yet still there were not wanting good and wise men in the colonies, who, from time to time, raised the voice of remonstrance against these abuses, and who carried their complaints to the foot of the throne. To

is no reason, as far as I am aware, to distrust the testimony of the writer, and Muñoz has made some sensible extracts from it for his inestimable collection.

* Father Naharro notices twelve missionaries, some of his own order, whose zealous labours and miracles for the conversion of the Indians he deems worthy of comparison with those of the twelve Apostles of Christianity. It is a pity that history, while it has commemorated the names of so many persecutors of the poor heathen, should have omitted those of their benefactors.

"Tomó su divina Magestad por instrumento doce solos religiosos pobres, descalzos i desconocidos,—cinquo del orden de la Merced, quatro de Predicadores, i tres de San Francisco; obraron lo mismo que los doce Apostolos en la conversion de todo el universo mundo." Naharro, Relacion Sumaria, MS.

† "Todos los conventos de Dominicos i Mercenarios tienen repartimientos. Ninguno dellos ha dotrinado ni convertido un Indio. Procuran sacar dellos quanto pueden, trabajarles en grangerias; con esto i con otras limosnas enriquecen. Mal egemplo! Ademas convendrá no pasen frailes sino precediendo diligente examen de vida i dotrina." (Relacion de las cosas que S. M. deve proveer para los reynos del Peru, embiada desde Los Reyes á la Corte por el Licenciado Martel Santoyo, de quien va firmáda en principios de 1542, MS.) This statement of the licentiate shews a different side of the picture from that above quoted from Father Naharro. Yet they are not irreconcilable. Human nature has both its lights and its shadows.

the credit of the government it must also be confessed, that it was solicitous to obtain such information as it could, both from its own officers, and from commissioners deputed expressly for the purpose, whose voluminous communications throw a flood of light on the internal condition of the country, and furnish the best materials for the historian.* But it was found much easier to get this information than to profit by it.

In 1541, Charles the Fifth, who had been much occupied by the affairs of Germany, revisited his ancestral dominions, where his attention was imperatively called to the state of the colonies. Several memorials in relation to it were laid before him; but no one pressed the matter so strongly on the royal conscience as Las Casas, afterwards Bishop of Chiapa. This good ecclesiastic, whose long life had been devoted to those benevolent labours which gained him the honourable title of Protector of the Indians, had just completed his celebrated treatise on the Destruction of the Indies, the most remarkable record, probably, to be found, of human wickedness, but which, unfortunately, loses

* I have several of these Memorials or *Relaciones*, as they are called, in my possession, drawn up by residents in answer to queries propounded by government. These queries, while their great object is to ascertain the nature of existing abuses, and to invite the suggestion of remedies, are often directed to the laws and usages of the ancient Incas. The responses, therefore, are of great value to the historical inquirer. The most important of these documents in my possession is that by Ondegardo, governor of Cuzco, covering near four hundred folio pages, once forming part of Lord Kingsborough's valuable collection. It is impossible to peruse these elaborate and conscientious reports, without a deep conviction of the pains taken by the Crown to ascertain the nature of the abuses in the domestic government of the colonies, and their honest purpose to amend them. Unfortunately, in this laudable purpose they were not often seconded by the colonists themselves.

much of its effect from the credulity of the writer, and his obvious tendency to exaggerate.

In 1542, Las Casas placed his manuscript in the hands of his royal master. That same year a council was called at Valladolid, composed chiefly of jurists and theologians, to devise a system of laws for the regulation of the American colonies.

Las Casas appeared before this body, and made an elaborate argument, of which a part only has been given to the public. He there assumes, as a fundamental proposition, that the Indians were by the law of nature free; that, as vassals of the Crown, they had a right to its protection, and should be declared free from that time, without exception and for ever.* He sustains this proposition by a great variety of arguments, comprehending the substance of most that has been since urged in the same cause by the friends of humanity. He touches on the ground of expediency, shewing, that, without the interference of government, the Indian race must be gradually exterminated by the systematic oppression of the Spaniards. In conclusion, he maintains, that, if the Indians, as it was pretended, would not labour unless compelled, the white man would still find it for his interest to cul-

* The perpetual emancipation of the Indians is urged in the most emphatic manner by another bishop, also a Dominican, but bearing certainly very little resemblance to Las Casas. Fray Valverde makes this one of the prominent topics in a communication, already cited, to the government, the general scope of which must be admitted to do more credit to his humanity than some of the passages recorded of him in history.—"A V. M. representarán alla los conquistadores muchos servicios, dandolos por causa para que los dexen servir de los Indios como de esclavos: V. M. se los tiene mui bien pagados en los provechos que han avido desta tierra, y no los ha de pagar con hazer á sus vasallos esclavos." Carta de Valverde al Emperador, MS.

tivate the soil; and that, if he should not be able to do so, that circumstance would give him no right over the Indian, since *God does not allow evil that good may come of it.** This lofty morality, it will be remembered, was from the lips of a Dominican in the sixteenth century, one of the order that founded the Inquisition, and in the very country where the fiery tribunal was then in most active operation! †

The arguments of Las Casas encountered all the opposition naturally to be expected from indifference, selfishness, and bigotry. They were also resisted by some persons of just and benevolent views in his audience, who, while they admitted the general correctness of his reasoning, and felt deep sympathy for the wrongs of the natives, yet doubted whether his scheme of reform was not fraught with greater evils than those it was intended to correct. For Las Casas was the uncompromising friend of freedom. He entrenched himself strongly on the ground of natural right; and, like some of the reformers of our own day, disdained to calculate the consequences of carrying out the principle to its full and unqualified extent. His earnest eloquence, instinct with the generous love of humanity, and fortified by a host of facts, which it was not

* "La loi de Dieu défend de faire le mal pour qu'il en résulte du bien." Œuvres de Las Casas, Evêque de Chiapa, trad. par Llorente, (Paris, 1822,) tom. i. p. 251.

† It is a curious coincidence, that this argument of Las Casas should have been first published —in a translated form, indeed— by a secretary of the Inquisition, Llorente. The original still remains in MS. It is singular that these volumes, containing the views of this great philanthropist on topics of such interest to humanity, should not have been more freely consulted, or at least cited, by those who have since trod in his footsteps. They are an arsenal from which many a serviceable weapon for the good cause might be borrowed.

easy to assail, prevailed over his auditors. The result of their deliberations was a code of ordinances, which, however, far from being limited to the wants of the natives, had particular reference to the European population, and the distractions of the country. It was of general application to all the American colonies. It will be necessary here only to point out some of the provisions having immediate reference to Peru.

The Indians were declared true and loyal vassals of the Crown, and their freedom as such was fully recognized. Yet, to maintain inviolate the guaranty of the government to the Conquerors, it was decided, that those lawfully possessed of slaves might still retain them; but, at the death of the present proprietors, they were to revert to the Crown.

It was provided, however, that slaves, in any event, should be forfeited by all those who had shewn themselves unworthy to hold them by neglect or ill-usage; by all public functionaries, or such as had held offices under the government; by ecclesiastics and religious corporations; and, lastly,—a sweeping clause,—by all who had taken a criminal part in the feuds of Almagro and Pizarro.

It was further ordered, that the Indians should be moderately taxed; that they should not be compelled to labour where they did not choose, and that where, from particular circumstances, this was made necessary, they should receive a fair compensation. It was also decreed, that, as the *repartimiëntos* of land were often excessive, they should in such cases be reduced; and that, where proprietors had been guilty of a notorious abuse of their slaves, their estates should be forfeited altogether.

As Peru had always shewn a spirit of insubordination, which required a more vigorous interposition of authority than was necessary in the other colonies, it was resolved to send a viceroy to that country, who should display a state, and be armed with powers, that might make him a more fitting representative of the sovereign. He was to be accompanied by a Royal Audience, consisting of four judges, with extensive powers of jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, who, besides a court of justice, should constitute a sort of council to advise with and aid the viceroy. The Audience of Panamá was to be dissolved, and the new tribunal, with the vice-king's court, was to be established at Los Reyes, or Lima, as it now began to be called,—henceforth the metropolis of the Spanish empire on the Pacific.*

Such were some of the principal features of this remarkable code, which, touching on the most delicate relations of society, broke up the very foundations of property, and, by a stroke of the pen, as it were, converted a nation of slaves into freemen. It would have required, we may suppose, but little forecast to divine, that in the remote regions of America, and especially in Peru, where the colonists had been hitherto accustomed to unbounded license, a reform, so salutary in essential points, could be enforced thus summarily only at the price of a revolution.—Yet the ordinances received the sanction of the emperor that same year, and in November, 1543, were published at Madrid.†

* The provisions of this celebrated code are to be found, with more or less—generally less—accuracy, in the various contemporary writers. Herrera gives them *in extenso*. Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. vi. cap. v.

† Las Casas pressed the matter home on the royal conscience, by representing that the Papal See

No sooner was their import known, than it was conveyed by numerous letters to the colonists from their friends in Spain. The tidings flew like wildfire over the land, from Mexico to Chili. Men were astounded at the prospect of the ruin that awaited them. In Peru, particularly, there was scarcely one that could hope to escape the operation of the law. Few there were who had not taken part, at some time or other, in the civil feuds of Almagro and Pizarro; and still fewer of those that remained that would not be entangled in some one or other of the insidious clauses that seemed spread out, like a web, to ensnare them.

The whole country was thrown into commotion. Men assembled tumultuously in the squares and public places, and, as the regulations were made known, they were received with universal groans and hisses. "Is this the fruit," they cried, "of all our toil? Is it for this that we have poured out our blood like water? Now that we are broken down by hardships and sufferings, to be left at the end of our campaigns as poor as at the beginning! Is this the way government rewards our services in winning for it an empire? The government has done little to aid us in making the conquest, and for what we have we may thank our own good swords; and with these same swords," they continued, warming into menace, "we know how to defend it." Then, stripping up his sleeve, the war-worn veteran bared his arm, or, exposing his naked bosom, pointed to his scars, as the best title to his estates.*

conceded the right of conquest to the Spanish sovereigns on the exclusive condition of converting the heathen, and that the Almighty would hold him accountable for the execution of this trust. Œuvres de Las Casas, ubi supra.

* Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Pedro de Valdivia, MS., desde

The governor, Vaca de Castro, watched the storm thus gathering from all quarters, with the deepest concern. He was himself in the very heart of disaffection; for Cuzco, tenanted by a mixed and lawless population, was so far removed into the depths of the mountains, that it had much less intercourse with the parent country, and was consequently much less under her influence, than the great towns on the coast. The people now invoked the governor to protect them against the tyranny of the Court; but he endeavoured to calm the agitation, by representing that by these violent measures they would only defeat their own object. He counselled them to name deputies to lay their petition before the Crown, stating the impracticability of the present scheme of reform, and praying for the repeal of it; and he conjured them to wait patiently for the arrival of the viceroy, who might be prevailed on to suspend the ordinances till further advices could be received from Castile.

But it was not easy to still the tempest; and the people now eagerly looked for some one whose interests and sympathies might lie with theirs, and whose position in the community might afford them protection. The person to whom they naturally turned in this crisis was Gonzalo Pizarro, the last in the land of

Los Reyes, 31 de Oct., 1538.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. i.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. vi. cap. x. xi.

Benalcazar, in a letter to Charles the Fifth, indulges in a strain of invective against the ordinances, which, by stripping the planters of their Indian slaves, must inevitably reduce the country to beggary. Benalcazar was a conqueror, and one of the most respectable of his caste. His argument is a good specimen of the reasoning of his party on this subject, and presents a decided counterblast to that of Las Casas. Carta de Benalcazar al Emperador, MS., desde Cali, 20 de Diciembre, 1544.

that family who had led the armies of the Conquest,—a cavalier whose gallantry and popular manners had made him always a favourite with the people. He was now beset with applications to interpose in their behalf with the government, and shield them from the oppressive ordinances.

But Gonzalo Pizarro was at Charcas, busily occupied in exploring the rich veins of Potosí, whose silver fountains, just brought into light, were soon to pour such streams of wealth over Europe. Though gratified with this appeal to his protection, the cautious cavalier was more intent on providing for the means of enterprise than on plunging prematurely into it; and, while he secretly encouraged the malecontents, he did not commit himself by taking part in any revolutionary movement. At the same period, he received letters from Vaca de Castro,—whose vigilant eye watched all the aspects of the time,—cautioning Gonzalo and his friends not to be seduced, by any wild schemes of reform, from their allegiance. And, to check still further these disorderly movements, he ordered his alcaldes to arrest every man guilty of seditious language, and bring him at once to punishment. By this firm yet temperate conduct the minds of the populace were overawed, and there was a temporary lull in the troubled waters, while all looked anxiously for the coming of the viceroy.*

The person selected for this critical post was a knight of Avila, named Blasco Nuñez Vela. He was a cavalier of ancient family, handsome in person,

* Benalcazar, ubi supra.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, ubi supra.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS. — Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1543.

though now somewhat advanced in years, and reputed brave and devout. He had filled some offices of responsibility to the satisfaction of Charles V., by whom he was now appointed to this post in Peru. The selection did no credit to the monarch's discernment.

It may seem strange that this important place should not have been bestowed on Vaca de Castro, already on the spot, and who had shewn himself so well qualified to fill it. But ever since that officer's mission to Peru, there had been a series of assassinations, insurrections, and civil wars, that menaced the wretched colony with ruin; and, though his wise administration had now brought things into order, the communication with the Indies was so tardy, that the results of his policy were not yet fully disclosed. As it was designed, moreover, to make important innovations in the government, it was thought better to send some one who would have no personal prejudices to encounter, from the part he had already taken, and who, coming directly from the Court, and clothed with extraordinary powers, might present himself with greater authority than could one who had become familiar to the people in an inferior capacity. The monarch, however, wrote a letter with his own hand to Vaca de Castro, in which he thanked that officer for his past services, and directed him, after aiding the new viceroy with the fruits of his large experience, to return to Castile, and take his seat in the Royal Council. Letters of a similar complimentary kind were sent to the loyal colonists who had stood by the governor in the late troubles of the country. Freighted with these testimonials, and with the ill-starred ordinances, Blasco Nuñez embarked at San Lucar, on the

3rd of November, 1543. He was attended by the four judges of the Audience, and by a numerous retinue, that he might appear in the state befitting his distinguished rank.*

About the middle of the following January, 1544, the viceroy, after a favourable passage, landed at Nombrè de Dios. He found there a vessel laden with silver from the Peruvian mines, ready to sail for Spain. His first act was to lay an embargo on it for the government, as containing the proceeds of slave labour. After this extraordinary measure, taken in opposition to the advice of the Audience, he crossed the Isthmus to Panamá. Here he gave sure token of his future policy, by causing more than three hundred Indians, who had been brought by their owners from Peru, to be liberated and sent back to their own country. This high-handed measure created the greatest sensation in the city, and was strongly resisted by the judges of the Audience. They besought him not to begin thus precipitately to execute his commission, but to wait till his arrival in the colony, when he should have taken time to acquaint himself somewhat with the country and with the temper of the people. But Blasco Nuñez coldly replied, that "he had come, not to tamper with the laws, nor to discuss their merits, but to execute them,—and execute them he would, to the letter, whatever might be the consequence."† This answer, and the peremptory tone in

* Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. vi. cap. ix.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. vi.—Zarate, MS.

† "Estas y otras cosas le dixo el Licenciado Zarate: que no fueron al gusto del Virey: antes se enojó mucho por ello, y respondio con alguna aspereza, jurando que auia de executar las ordenanças

which it was delivered, promptly adjourned the debate; for the judges saw that debate was useless with one who seemed to consider all remonstrance as an attempt to turn him from his duty, and whose ideas of duty precluded all discretionary exercise of authority, even where the public good demanded it.

Leaving the Audience, as one of its body was ill, at Panamá, the viceroy proceeded on his way, and, coasting down the shores of the Pacific, on the 4th of March he disembarked at Tumbez. He was well received by the loyal inhabitants; his authority was publicly proclaimed, and the people were overawed by the display of a magnificence and state such as had not till then been seen in Peru. He took an early occasion to intimate his future line of policy by liberating a number of Indian slaves on the application of their caciques. He then proceeded by land towards the south, and shewed his determination to conform in his own person to the strict letter of the ordinances, by causing his baggage to be carried by mules, where it was practicable; and where absolutely necessary to make use of Indians, he paid them fairly for their services.*

The whole country was thrown into consternation by reports of the proceedings of the viceroy, and of his conversations, most unguarded, which were eagerly circulated, and, no doubt, often exaggerated. Meetings were again called in the cities. Discussions were held on the expediency of resisting his further pro-

como en ellas se contenia, sin esperar para ello terminos algunos, ni dilaciones." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. vi.

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. ii.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, ubi supra.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1544.

gress, and a deputation of citizens from Cuzco, who were then in Lima, strongly urged the people to close the gates of that capital against him. But Vaca de Castro had also left Cuzco for the latter city, on the earliest intimation of the viceroy's approach, and, with some difficulty, he prevailed on the inhabitants not to swerve from their loyalty, but to receive their new ruler with suitable honours, and trust to his calmer judgment for postponing the execution of the law till the case could be laid before the throne.

But the great body of the Spaniards, after what they had heard, had slender confidence in the relief to be obtained from this quarter. They now turned with more eagerness than ever towards Gonzalo Pizarro; and letters and addresses poured in upon him from all parts of the country, inviting him to take on himself the office of their protector. These applications found a more favourable response than on the former occasion.

There were, indeed, many motives at work to call Gonzalo into action. It was to his family, mainly, that Spain was indebted for this extension of her colonial empire; and he had felt deeply aggrieved that the government of the colony should be trusted to other hands than his. He had felt this on the arrival of Vaca de Castro, and much more so when the appointment of a viceroy proved it to be the settled policy of the Crown to exclude his family from the management of affairs. His brother Hernando still languished in prison, and he himself was now to be sacrificed as the principal victim of the fatal ordinances. For who had taken so prominent a part in the civil war with the elder Almagro? And the viceroy was currently reported — it may have been

scandal—to have intimated that Pizarro would be dealt with accordingly.* Yet there was no one in the country who had so great a stake, who had so much to lose by the revolution. Abandoned thus by the government, he conceived that it was now time to take care of himself.

Assembling together some eighteen or twenty cavaliers in whom he most trusted, and taking a large amount of silver, drawn from the mines, he accepted the invitation to repair to Cuzco. As he approached this capital, he was met by a numerous body of the citizens, who came out to welcome him, making the air ring with their shouts, as they saluted him with the title of Procurator-General of Peru. The title was speedily confirmed by the municipality of the city, who invited him to head a deputation to Lima, in order to state their grievances to the viceroy, and solicit the present suspension of the ordinances.

But the spark of ambition was kindled in the bosom of Pizarro. He felt strong in the affections of the people; and, from the more elevated position in which he now stood, his desires took a loftier and more unbounded range. Yet, if he harboured a criminal ambition in his breast, he skilfully veiled it from others, —perhaps from himself. The only object he professed

* "It was not fair," the viceroy said, "that the country should remain longer in the hands of muleteers and swineherds, (alluding to the origin of the Pizarros,) and he would take measures to restore it to the Crown."

"Que asi me la havia de cortar á mi i á todos los que havian seido notablemente, como el decia, culpados en la batalla de las Salinas i en las diferencias de Almagro, i que una tierra como esta no era justo que estuviese en poder de gente tan vaxa que llamava el á los desta tierra porqueros i arrieros, sino que estuviese toda en la Corona real." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

to have in view was the good of the people;* a suspicious phrase, usually meaning the good of the individual. He now demanded permission to raise and organize an armed force, with the further title of Captain-General. His views were entirely pacific; but it was not safe, unless strongly protected, to urge them on a person of the viceroy's impatient and arbitrary temper. It was further contended by Pizarro's friends, that such a force was demanded, to rid the country of their old enemy, the Inca Manco, who hovered in the neighbouring mountains with a body of warriors, ready, at the first opportunity, to descend on the Spaniards. The municipality of Cuzco hesitated, as well it might, to confer powers so far beyond its legitimate authority. But Pizarro avowed his purpose, in case of refusal, to decline the office of Procurator; and the efforts of his partisans, backed by those of the people, at length silenced the scruples of the magistrates, who bestowed on the ambitious chief the military command to which he aspired. Pizarro accepted it with the modest assurance, that he did so "purely from regard to the interests of the king, of the Indies, and, above all, of Peru"!†

* "Diciendo que no queria nada para si, sino para el beneficio universal, i que por todos havia de poner todas sus fuerças." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. vii. cap. 20.

† "Acepté lo por ver que en ello hacia servicio á Dios i á S.M. i gran bien á esta tierra i generalmente á todas las Indias." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro a Valdivia, MS.

Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. vii. cap. xix. xx.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. iv. viii.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. viii.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro a Valdivia, MS. —Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1544.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Viceroy arrives at Lima.—Gonzalo Pizarro marches from Cuzco.—Death of the Inca Manco.—Rash Conduct of the Viceroy.—Seized and deposed by the Audience.—Gonzalo proclaimed Governor of Peru.

1544.

WHILE the events recorded in the preceding pages were in progress, Blasco Nuñez had been journeying towards Lima. But the alienation which his conduct had already caused in the minds of the colonists, was shewn in the cold reception which he occasionally experienced on the route, and in the scanty accommodations provided for him and his retinue. In one place where he took up his quarters, he found an ominous inscription over the door:—"He that takes my property must expect to pay for it with his life." * Neither daunted, nor diverted from his purpose, the inflexible viceroy held on his way towards the capital, where the inhabitants, preceded by Vaca de Castro and the municipal authorities, came out to receive him. He entered in great state, under a canopy of crimson cloth, embroidered with the arms of Spain, and supported by stout poles or staves of solid silver, which were borne by the members of the municipa-

* "A quien me viniere á quitar mi hacienda, quitarle he la vida." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. vii. cap. xviii.

lity. A cavalier, holding a mace, the emblem of authority, rode before him; and after the oaths of office were administered in the council-chamber, the procession moved towards the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was sung, and Blasco Nuñez was installed in his new dignity of viceroy of Peru.*

His first act was to proclaim his determination in respect to the ordinances. He had no warrant to suspend their execution. He should fulfil his commission; but he offered to join the colonists in a memorial to the emperor, soliciting the repeal of a code which he now believed would be for the interests neither of the country nor of the Crown.† With this avowed view of the subject, it may seem strange that Blasco Nuñez should not have taken the responsibility of suspending the law until his sovereign could be assured of the inevitable consequences of enforcing it. The pacha of a Turkish despot, who had allowed

* "Entró en la cibdad de Lima á 17 de Mayo de 1544: saliole á recibir todo el pueblo á pie y á caballo dos tiros de ballesta del pueblo, y á la entrada de la cibdad estaba un arco triunfal de verde con las Armas de España, y las de la misma cibdad; estaban le esperando el Regimiento y Justicia, y oficiales del Rey con ropas largas, hasta en pies de carmesi, y un palio del mesmo carmesi aforrado en lo mesmo, con ocho baras guarnecidas de plata y tomaronle debajo todos á pie, cada Regidor y justicia con una bara del palio, y el Virrey en su caballo con las mazas delante tomaronle juramento en un libro misal, y juró de las guardar y cumplir todas sus libertades y provisiones de S. M.; y luego fueron desta manera hasta la iglesia, salieron los clerigos con la cruz á la puerta y le metieron dentro cantando *Te deum laudamus*, y despues que obo dicho su oracion, fué con el cabildo y toda la ciudad á su palacio donde fué recebido y hizo un parlamento breve en que contentó á toda la gente." Relacion de los sucesos del Peru desde que entró el virrey Blasco Nuñez acaecidos en mar y tierra, MS.

† "Porque llanamente el confesaba, que asi para su Magestad, como para aquellos Reinos, eran perjudiciales." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. v.

himself this latitude for the interests of his master, might, indeed, have reckoned on the bowstring. But the example of Mendoza, the prudent viceroy of Mexico, who adopted this course in a similar crisis, and precisely at the same period, shewed its propriety under existing circumstances. The ordinances were suspended by him till the Crown could be warned of the consequences of enforcing them,—and Mexico was saved from revolution.* But Blasco Nuñez had not the wisdom of Mendoza.

The public apprehension was now far from being allayed. Secret cabals were formed in Lima, and communications held with the different towns. No distrust, however, was raised in the breast of the viceroy, and, when informed of the preparations of Gonzalo Pizarro, he took no other step than to send a message to his camp, announcing the extraordinary powers with which he was himself invested, and requiring that chief to disband his forces. He seemed to think that a mere word from him would be sufficient to dissipate rebellion. But it required more than a breath to scatter the iron soldiery of Peru.

Gonzalo Pizarro, meanwhile, was busily occupied in mustering his army. His first step was to order from Guamanga sixteen pieces of artillery, sent there by Vaca de Castro, who, in the present state of excitement, was unwilling to trust the volatile people of Cuzco with these implements of destruction. Gonzalo, who had no scruples as to Indian labour, appropriated six thousand of the natives to the service of transporting this train of ordnance across the mountains.†

* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. ii.—v.

† Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. viii.

By his exertions and those of his friends, the active chief soon mustered a force of nearly four hundred men, which, if not very imposing in the outset, he conceived would be swelled, in his descent to the coast, by tributary levies from the towns and villages on the way. All his own funds were expended in equipping his men and providing for the march; and, to supply deficiencies, he made no scruple—since, to use his words, it was for the public interest—to appropriate the moneys in the royal treasury. With this seasonable aid, his troops, well mounted and thoroughly equipped, were put in excellent fighting order; and, after making them a brief harangue, in which he was careful to insist on the pacific character of his enterprise, somewhat at variance with its military preparations, Gonzalo Pizarro sallied forth from the gates of the capital.

Before leaving it, he received an important accession of strength in the person of Francisco de Carbajal, the veteran who performed so conspicuous a part in the battle of Chupas. He was at Charcas when the news of the ordinances reached Peru; and he instantly resolved to quit the country and return to Spain, convinced that the New World would be no longer the land for him,—no longer the golden Indies. Turning his effects into money, he prepared to embark them on board the first ship that offered. But no opportunity occurred, and he could have little expectation now of escaping the vigilant eye of the viceroy. Yet, though solicited by Pizarro to take command under him in the present expedition, the veteran declined, saying, he was eighty years old, and had no wish but to return home, and spend his few

remaining days in quiet.* Well had it been for him, had he persisted in his refusal! But he yielded to the importunities of his friend; and the short space that yet remained to him of life, proved long enough to brand his memory with perpetual infamy.

Soon after quitting Cuzco, Pizarro learned the death of the Inca Manco. He was massacred by a party of Spaniards, of the faction of Almagro, who, on the defeat of their young leader, had taken refuge in the Indian camp. They, in turn, were all slain by the Peruvians. It is impossible to determine on whom the blame of the quarrel should rest, since no one present at the time has recorded it.†

The death of Manco Inca, as he was commonly called, is an event not to be silently passed over in Peruvian history; for he was the last of his race that may be said to have been animated by the heroic spirit of the ancient Incas. Though placed on the throne by Pizarro, far from remaining a mere puppet in his hands, Manco soon shewed that his lot was not to be cast with that of his conquerors. With the ancient institutions of his country lying a wreck around him, he yet struggled bravely, like Guatemozin, the last of the Aztecs, to uphold her tottering fortunes, or to bury his oppressors under her ruins. By the assault on his own capital of Cuzco, in which so large a portion of it was demolished, he gave a check to the arms of Pizarro, and, for a season, the fate of the Conquerors trembled in the balance. Though foiled in the end by the superior science of his adversary, the young

* Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. vii. cap. xxii.

† Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iv. cap. vii.

barbarian still shewed the same unconquerable spirit as before. He withdrew into the fastnesses of his native mountains, whence sallying forth as occasion offered, he fell on the caravan of the traveller, or on some scattered party of the military; and, in the event of a civil war, was sure to throw his own weight into the weaker scale, thus prolonging the contest of his enemies, and feeding his revenge by the sight of their calamities. Moving lightly from spot to spot, he eluded pursuit amidst the wilds of the Cordilleras; and, hovering in the neighbourhood of the towns, or lying in ambush on the great thoroughfares of the country, the Inca Manco made his name a terror to the Spaniards. Often did they hold out to him terms of accommodation; and every succeeding ruler, down to Blasco Nuñez, bore instructions from the Crown to employ every art to conciliate the formidable warrior. But Manco did not trust the promises of the white man; and he chose rather to maintain his savage independence in the mountains, with the few brave spirits around him, than to live a slave in the land which had once owned the sway of his ancestors.

The death of the Inca removed one of the great pretexts for Gonzalo Pizarro's military preparations; but it had little influence on him, as may be readily imagined. He was much more sensible to the desertion of some of his followers, which took place early on the march. Several of the cavaliers of Cuzco, startled by his unceremonious appropriation of the public moneys, and by the belligerent aspect of affairs, now for the first time seemed to realize that they were in the path of rebellion. A number of these, including some principal men of the city, secretly withdrew

from the army, and, hastening to Lima, offered their services to the viceroy. The troops were disheartened by this desertion, and even Pizarro for a moment faltered in his purpose, and thought of retiring with some fifty followers to Charcas, and there making his composition with government. But a little reflection, aided by the remonstrances of the courageous Carbajal, who never turned his back on an enterprise which he had once assumed, convinced him that he had gone too far to recede,—that his only safety was to advance.

He was reassured by more decided manifestations, which he soon after received, of the public opinion. An officer named Puelles, who commanded at Guanuco, joined him with a body of horse with which he had been intrusted by the viceroy. This defection was followed by that of others, and Gonzalo, as he descended the sides of the table-land, found his numbers gradually swelled to nearly double the amount with which he had left the Indian capital.

As he traversed with a freer step the bloody field of Chupas, Carbajal pointed out the various localities of the battle-ground, and Pizarro might have found food for anxious reflection, as he meditated on the fortunes of a rebel. At Guamanga he was received with open arms by the inhabitants, many of whom eagerly enlisted under his banner; for they trembled for their property, as they heard from all quarters of the inflexible temper of the viceroy.*

That functionary began now to be convinced that he was in a critical position. Before Puelles's trea-

* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. xiv. xvi.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. ix. x.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. viii. cap. v. ix.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro a Valdivia, MS.—Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.

chery, above noticed, had been consummated, the viceroy had received some vague intimation of his purpose. Though scarcely crediting it, he detached one of his company, named Diaz, with a force to intercept him. But, although that cavalier undertook the mission with alacrity, he was soon after prevailed on to follow the example of his comrade, and, with the greater part of the men under his command, went over to the enemy. In the civil feuds of this unhappy land, parties changed sides so lightly, that treachery to a commander had almost ceased to be a stain on the honour of a cavalier. Yet all, on whichever side they cast their fortunes, loudly proclaimed their loyalty to the Crown.

Thus betrayed by his own men, by those apparently most devoted to his service, Blasco Nuñez became suspicious of every one around him. Unfortunately, his suspicions fell on some who were most deserving of his confidence. Among these was his predecessor, Vaca de Castro. That officer had conducted himself, in the delicate situation in which he had been placed, with his usual discretion, and with perfect integrity and honour. He had frankly communicated with the viceroy, and well had it been for Blasco Nuñez, if he had known how to profit by it. But he was too much puffed up by the arrogance of office, and by the conceit of his own superior wisdom, to defer much to the counsels of his experienced predecessor. The latter was now suspected by the viceroy of maintaining a secret correspondence with his enemies at Cuzco—a suspicion which seems to have had no better foundation than the personal friendship which Vaca de Castro was known to entertain for these individuals.

But, with Blasco Nuñez, to suspect was to be convinced; and he ordered De Castro to be placed under arrest, and confined on board of a vessel lying in the harbour. This high-handed measure was followed by the arrest and imprisonment of several other cavaliers, probably on grounds equally frivolous.*

He now turned his attention towards the enemy. Notwithstanding his former failure, he still did not altogether despair of effecting something by negotiation, and he sent another embassy, having the bishop of Lima at its head, to Gonzalo Pizarro's camp, with promises of a general amnesty, and some proposals of a more tempting character to the commander. But this step, while it proclaimed his own weakness, had no better success than the preceding.†

The viceroy now vigorously prepared for war. His first care was to put the capital in a posture of defence, by strengthening its fortifications, and throwing barricades across the streets. He ordered a general enrolment of the citizens, and called in levies from the neighbouring towns,—a call not very promptly answered. A squadron of eight or ten vessels was got ready in the port to act in concert with the land forces. The bells were taken from the churches, and used in the manufacture of muskets;‡ and funds were procured from the fifths which had accumulated in the royal treasury. The most extravagant bounty was

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. iii.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. x.

† Loaysa, the bishop, was robbed of his despatches, and not even allowed to enter the camp, lest his presence should shake the constancy of the soldiers. (See Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.) The account occupies more space than it deserves in most of the authorities.

‡ "Hiçø hacer gran Copia de Arcabuces, asi de Hierro, como de

offered to the soldiers, and prices were paid for mules and horses, which shewed that gold, or rather silver, was the commodity of least value in Peru.* By these efforts, the active commander soon assembled a force considerably larger than that of his adversary. But how could he confide in it?

While these preparations were going forward, the judges of the Audience arrived at Lima. They had shewn, throughout their progress, no great respect either for the ordinances, or the will of the viceroy; for they had taxed the poor natives as freely and unscrupulously as any of the Conquerors. We have seen the entire want of cordiality subsisting between them and their principal in Panamá. It became more apparent on their landing at Lima. They disapproved of his proceedings in every particular; of his refusal to suspend the ordinances,—although, in fact, he had found no opportunity, of late, to enforce them; of his preparations for defence, declaring that he ought rather trust to the effect of negotiation; and, finally, of his imprisonment of so many loyal cavaliers, which they pronounced an arbitrary act, altogether beyond the bounds of his authority; and they did not scruple to visit the prison in person, and discharge the captives from their confinement.†

Fundicion, de ciertas Campanas de la Iglesia Maior, que para ello quitó." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. vi.

* Blasco Nuñez paid, according to Zarate, who had the means of knowing, twelve thousand ducats for thirty-five mules.—"El Visorrei les mandó comprar, de la Hacienda Real, treinta i cinco Machos, en que hiciesen la Jornada, que costaron mas de doce mil ducados." (Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. x.) The South American of our day might well be surprised at such prices for animals since so abundant in his country.

† Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. x.—Herrera,

This bold proceeding, while it conciliated the good-will of the people, severed, at once, all relations with the viceroy. There was in the Audience a lawyer, named Cepeda, a cunning, ambitious man, with considerable knowledge in the way of his profession, and with still greater talent for intrigue. He did not disdain the low arts of a demagogue to gain the favour of the populace, and trusted to find his own account in fomenting a misunderstanding with Blasco Nuñez. The latter, it must be confessed, did all in his power to aid his counsellor in this laudable design.

A certain cavalier in the place, named Suarez de Carbajal, who had long held an office under government, fell under the viceroy's displeasure, on suspicion of conniving at the secession of some of his kinsmen, who had lately taken part with the malcontents. The viceroy summoned Carbajal to attend him at his palace, late at night; and when conducted to his presence, he bluntly charged him with treason. The latter stoutly denied the accusation, in tones as haughty as those of his accuser. The altercation grew warm, until, in the heat of passion, Blasco Nuñez, struck him with his poniard. In an instant, the attendants, taking this as a signal, plunged their swords into the body of the unfortunate man, who fell lifeless on the floor.*

Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. viii. cap. ii. x. — Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

* "He struck him in the bosom with his dagger, as some say, but the viceroy denies it." So says Zarate, in the *printed* copy of his history. (Lib. v. cap. xi.) In the original manuscript of this work, still extant at Simancas, he states the fact without any qualification at all. "Luego el dicho Virrei echó mano á una daga, i arremetió con él, i le dió una puñalada, i á grandes vocesmandó que le metasen." (Zarate, MS.) This was doubtless his honest conviction, when on the

Greatly alarmed for the consequences of his rash act,—for Carbajal was much beloved in Lima,—Blasco Nuñez ordered the corpse of the murdered man to be removed by a private stairway from the house, and carried to the cathedral, where, rolled in his bloody cloak, it was laid in a grave hastily dug to receive it. So tragic a proceeding, known to so many witnesses, could not long be kept secret. Vague rumours of the fact explained the mysterious disappearance of Carbajal. The grave was opened, and the mangled remains of the slaughtered cavalier established the guilt of the viceroy.*

From this hour Blasco Nuñez was held in universal abhorrence; and his crime, in this instance, assumed the deeper dye of ingratitude, since the deceased was known to have had the greatest influence in reconciling the citizens early to his government. No one knew where the blow would fall next, or how soon he might himself become the victim of the ungovernable passions of the viceroy. In this state of things, some looked to the Audience, and yet more to Gonzalo Pizarro, to protect them.

That chief was slowly advancing towards Lima, from which, indeed, he was removed but a few days' march. Greatly perplexed, Blasco Nuñez now felt the loneliness of his condition. Standing aloof, as

spot soon after the event occurred. The politic historian thought it prudent to qualify his remark before publication. — "They say," says another contemporary, familiar with these events and friendly to the viceroy, "that he gave him several wounds with his dagger." And he makes no attempt to refute the charge. (Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.) Indeed, this version of the story seems to have been generally received at the time by those who had the best means of knowing the truth.

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, ubi supra.

it were, from his own followers, thwarted by the Audience, betrayed by his soldiers, he might well feel the consequences of his misconduct. Yet there seemed no other course for him, but either to march out and meet the enemy, or to remain in Lima and defend it. He had placed the town in a posture of defence, which argued this last to have been his original purpose. But he felt he could no longer rely on his troops, and he decided on a third course, most unexpected.

This was to abandon the capital, and withdraw to Truxillo, about eighty leagues distant. The women would embark on board the squadron, and with the effects of the citizens, be transported by water. The troops, with the rest of the inhabitants, would march by land, laying waste the country as they proceeded. Gonzalo Pizarro, when he arrived at Lima, would find it without supplies for his army, and, thus straitened, he would not care to take a long march across a desert in search of his enemy.*

What the viceroy proposed to effect by this movement is not clear, unless it were to gain time; and yet the more time he had gained, thus far, the worse it had proved for him. But he was destined to encounter a decided opposition from the judges. They contended that he had no warrant for such an act, and that the Audience could not lawfully hold its sessions out of the capital. Blasco Nuñez persisted in his determination, menacing that body with force if necessary. The judges appealed to the citizens to support them in resisting such an arbitrary measure. They mustered a

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xii.—Fernandez, parte i. lib. i. cap. xviii.

force for their own protection, and that same day passed a decree that the viceroy should be arrested.

Late at night, Blasco Nuñez was informed of the hostile preparations of the judges. He instantly summoned his followers, to the number of more than two hundred, put on his armour, and prepared to march out at the head of his troops against the Audience. This was the true course; for in a crisis like that in which he was placed, requiring promptness and decision, the presence of the leader is essential to insure success. But, unluckily, he yielded to the remonstrances of his brother and other friends, who dissuaded him from rashly exposing his life in such a venture.

What Blasco Nuñez neglected to do was done by the judges. They sallied forth at the head of their followers, whose number, though small at first, they felt confident would be swelled by volunteers as they advanced. Rushing forward, they cried out,—"Liberty! Liberty! Long live the king and the Audience!" It was early dawn, and the inhabitants, startled from their slumbers, ran to the windows and balconies, and, learning the object of the movement, some snatched up their arms and joined in it, while the women, waving their scarfs and kerchiefs, cheered on the assault.

When the mob arrived before the viceroy's palace, they halted for a moment, uncertain what to do. Orders were given to fire on them from the windows, and a volley passed over their heads. No one was injured; and the greater part of the viceroy's men, with most of the officers,—including some of those who had been so anxious for his personal safety,—now openly joined the populace. The palace was then entered, and aban-

doned to pillage. Blasco Nuñez, deserted by all but a few faithful adherents, made no resistance. He surrendered to the assailants, was led before the judges, and by them was placed in strict confinement. The citizens, delighted with the result, provided a collation for the soldiers; and the affair ended without the loss of a single life. Never was there so bloodless a revolution.*

The first business of the judges was to dispose of the prisoner. He was sent, under a strong guard, to a neighbouring island, till some measures could be taken respecting him. He was declared to be deposed from his office; a provisional government was established, consisting of their own body, with Cepeda at its head, as president; and its first act was to pronounce the detested ordinances suspended, till instructions could be received from Court. It was also decided to send Blasco Nuñez back to Spain with one of their own body, who should explain to the emperor the nature of the late disturbances, and vindicate the measures of the Audience. This was soon put in execution. The Licentiate Alvarez was the person selected to bear the viceroy company; and the unfortunate commander, after passing several days on the desolate island, with scarcely any food, and exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, took his departure for Panamá.†

* Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.—Relacion Anonima, MS.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq. MS. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. xix. —Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xi.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro a Valdivia, MS.

Gonzalo Pizarrro devoutly draws a conclusion from this, that the revolution was clearly brought about by the hand of God for the good of the land. "E hizóse sin que muriese un hombre, ni fuese herido, como obra que Dios la guiava para el bien desta tierra." Carta, MS., ubi supra.

† Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro a

A more formidable adversary yet remained in Gonzalo Pizarro, who had now advanced to Xauxa, about ninety miles from Lima. Here he halted, while numbers of the citizens prepared to join his banner, choosing rather to take service under him than to remain under the self-constituted authority of the Audience. The judges, meanwhile, who had tasted the sweets of office too short a time to be content to resign them, after considerable delay sent an embassy to the Procurator. They announced to him the revolution that had taken place, and the suspension of the ordinances. The great object of his mission had been thus accomplished; and, as a new government was now organized, they called on him to shew his obedience to it, by disbanding his forces, and withdrawing to the unmolested enjoyment of his estates. It was a bold demand,—though couched in the most courteous and complimentary phrase,—to make of one in Pizarro's position. It was attempting to scare away the eagle just ready to stoop on his prey. If the chief had faltered, however, he would have been reassured by his lion-hearted lieutenant. "Never shew faint heart," exclaimed the latter, "when you are so near the goal. Success has followed every step of your path. You have now only to stretch forth your hand, and seize the government. Every thing else will follow."—The envoy who brought the message from the judges was sent back with the answer, that "the people had called Gonzalo Pizarro to the government of the country,

Valdivia, MS.—Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.

The story of the seizure of the viceroy is well told by the writer of the last MS., who seems here, at least, not unduly biased in favour of Blasco Nuñez, though a partisan.

and, if the Audience did not at once invest him with it, the city should be delivered up to pillage." *

The bewildered magistrates were thrown into dismay by this decisive answer. Yet loth to resign, they took council in their perplexity of Vaca de Castro, still detained on board one of the vessels. But that commander had received too little favour at the hands of his successors to think it necessary to peril his life on their account by thwarting the plans of Pizarro. He maintained a discreet silence, therefore, and left the matter to the wisdom of the Audience.

Meanwhile, Carbajal was sent into the city to quicken their deliberations. He came at night, attended only by a small party of soldiers, intimating his contempt of the power of the judges. His first act was to seize a number of cavaliers, whom he dragged from their beds, and placed under arrest. They were men of Cuzco, the same already noticed as having left Pizarro's ranks soon after his departure from that capital. While the Audience still hesitated as to the course they should pursue, Carbajal caused three of his prisoners, persons of consideration and property, to be placed on the backs of mules, and escorted out of town to the suburbs, where, with brief space allowed for confession, he hung them all on the branches of a tree. He superintended the execution himself, and tauntingly complimented one of his victims, by telling him, that, "in consideration of his

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xiii.

It required some courage to carry the message of the Audience to Gonzalo and his desperate followers. The historian Zarate, the royal comptroller, was the envoy; not much, as it appears, to his own satisfaction. He escaped, however, unharmed, and has made a full report of the affair in his chronicle.

higher rank, he should have the privilege of selecting the bough on which to be hanged!"* The ferocious officer would have proceeded still further in his executions, it is said, had it not been for orders received from his leader. But enough was done to quicken the perceptions of the Audience as to their course, for they felt their own lives suspended by a thread in such unscrupulous hands. Without further delay, therefore, they sent to invite Gonzalo Pizarro to enter the city, declaring that the security of the country and the general good required the government to be placed in his hands.†

That chief had now advanced within half a league of the capital, which soon after, on the 28th of October, 1544, he entered in battle array. His whole force was little short of twelve hundred Spaniards, besides several thousand Indians, who dragged his heavy guns in the advance.‡ Then came the files of

* "Le queria dar su muerte con una preëminencia señalada, que escogiese en qual de las ramas de aquel arbol queria que le colgasen." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xiii.—See also Relacion Anonima, MS.—Fernandez, parte i. lib. i. cap. xxv.

† According to Gonzalo Pizarro, the Audience gave this invitation in obedience to the demands of the representatives of the cities.—"Y á esta sazon llegué yo á Lima; i todos los procuradores de las cibdades destos reynos suplicaron al Audiencia me hiciesen governador para resistir los robos é fuerzas que Blasco Nuñez andava faciendo, i para tener la tierra en justicia hasta que S. M. proveyese lo que mas á su real servicio convenia. Los oydores visto que asi convenia al servicio de Dios i al de S. M., i al bien destos reynos," &c. (Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.) But Gonzalo's account of himself must be received with more than the usual grain of allowance. His letter, which is addressed to Valdivia, the celebrated conqueror of Chili, contains a full account of the rise and progress of his rebellion. It is the best vindication, therefore, to be found of himself, and, as a counterpoise to the narratives of his enemies, is of inestimable value to the historian.

‡ He employed twelve thousand Indians on this service, says the writer of the *Relacion Anonima*,

spearmen and arquebusiers, making a formidable corps of infantry for a colonial army; and, lastly, the cavalry, at the head of which rode Pizarro himself, on a powerful charger, gaily caparisoned. The rider was in complete mail, over which floated a richly embroidered surcoat, and his head was protected by a crimson cap, highly ornamented,—his showy livery setting off his handsome, soldier-like person to advantage.* Before him was borne the royal standard of Castile; for every one, royalist or rebel, was careful to fight under that sign. This emblem of loyalty was supported on the right by a banner, emblazoned with the arms of Cuzco, and by another on the left, displaying the armorial bearings granted by the Crown to the Pizarros. As the martial pageant swept through the streets of Lima, the air was rent with acclamations from the populace, and from the spectators in the balconies. The cannon sounded at intervals, and the bells of the city,—those that the viceroy had spared—rang out a joyous peal, as if in honour of a victory!

The oaths of office were duly administered by the judges of the Royal Audience, and Gonzalo Pizarro was proclaimed Governor and Captain-General of Peru, till his Majesty's pleasure could be known in respect to the government. The new ruler then took up his quarters in the palace of his brother,—where the stains of that brother's blood were not yet effaced. *Fêtes*, bull-fights, and tournaments graced the cere-

MS. But this author, although living in the colonies at the time, talks too much at random to gain our implicit confidence.

* "Y el armado y con una capa de grana cubierta con muchas guarniciones de oro, é con sayo de brocado sobre les armas." Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS. —Also Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xiii.

mony of inauguration, and were prolonged for several days, while the giddy populace of the capital abandoned themselves to jubilee, as if a new and more auspicious order of things had commenced for Peru ! *

* For the preceding pages relating to Gonzalo Pizarro, see Relacion Anonima, MS.— Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. xxv.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS. —Zarate, loc. cit.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. viii. cap. xvi. xix.—Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1544.

CHAPTER IX.

Measures of Gonzalo Pizarro.—Escape of Vaca de Castro.—Re-appearance of the Viceroy.—His disastrous Retreat.—Defeat and Death of the Viceroy.—Gonzalo Pizarro Lord of Peru.

1544—1546.

THE first act of Gonzalo Pizarro was to cause those persons to be apprehended who had taken the most active part against him in the late troubles. Several he condemned to death; but afterwards commuted the sentence, and contented himself with driving them into banishment and confiscating their estates.* His next concern was to establish his authority on a firm basis. He filled the municipal government of Lima with his own partisans. He sent his lieutenants to take charge of the principal cities. He caused galleys to be built at Arequipa, to secure the command of the seas; and brought his forces into the best possible condition, to prepare for future emergencies.

The Royal Audience existed only in name; for its powers were speedily absorbed by the new ruler, who desired to place the government on the same footing as under the Marquis, his brother. Indeed the

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

The honest soldier, who tells us this, was more true to his king than to his kindred. At least, he did not attach himself to Gonzalo's party, and was among those who barely escaped hanging on this occasion. He seems to have had little respect for his namesake.

Audience necessarily fell to pieces, from the position of its several members. Alvarez had been sent with the viceroy to Castile. Cepeda, the most aspiring of the Court, now that he had failed in his own schemes of ambition, was content to become a tool in the hands of the military chief who had displaced him. Zarate, a third judge, who had, from the first, protested against the violent measures of his colleagues, was confined to his house by a mortal illness;* and Tepeda, the remaining magistrate, Gonzalo now proposed to send back to Castile, with such an account of the late transactions as should vindicate his own conduct in the eyes of the emperor. This step was opposed by Carbajal, who bluntly told his commander that "he had gone too far to expect favour from the Crown; and that he had better rely for his vindication on his pikes and muskets!"†

But the ship which was to transport Tepeda was found to have suddenly disappeared from the port. It was the same in which Vaca de Castro was confined; and that officer, not caring to trust to the forbearance of one whose advances, on a former occasion, he had so unceremoniously repulsed, and convinced, moreover, that his own presence could profit nothing in a land where he held no legitimate authority, had prevailed on the captain to sail with him to Panamá. He then crossed the Isthmus, and embarked for Spain. The rumours of his coming had

* Zarate, the judge, must not be confounded with Zarate, the historian, who went out to Peru with the Court of Audience, as *contador real*, royal comptroller, —having before filled the office of secretary of the royal council in Spain.

† Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxxii. — Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iv. cap. xxi.

already preceded him, and charges were not wanting against him from some of those whom he had offended by his administration. He was accused of having carried measures with a high hand, regardless of the rights both of the colonist and of the native; and, above all, of having embezzled the public moneys, and of returning with his coffers richly freighted to Castile. This last was an unpardonable crime.

No sooner had the governor set foot in his own country, than he was arrested and hurried to the fortress of Arevalo; and, though he was afterwards removed to better quarters, where he was treated with the indulgence due to his rank, he was still kept a prisoner of state for twelve years, when the tardy tribunals of Castile pronounced a judgment in his favour. He was acquitted of every charge that had been brought against him, and, so far from peculation, was proved to have returned home no richer than he went. He was released from confinement, reinstated in his honours and dignities, took his seat anew in the royal council, and Vaca de Castro enjoyed, during the remainder of his days, the consideration to which he was entitled by his deserts.* The best eulogium on the wisdom of his administration was afforded by the troubles brought on the colonies by that of his successor. The nation became gradually sensible of the value of his services; though the manner in which they were requited by the government must be allowed to form a cold commentary on the gratitude of princes.

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xv.—Relacion Anonima, MS.—Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1545.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. xxviii.

Gonzalo Pizarro was doomed to experience a still greater disappointment than that caused by the escape of Vaca de Castro, in the return of Blasco Nuñez, The vessel which bore him from the country had hardly left the shore, when Alvarez, the judge, whether from remorse at the part which he had taken, or apprehensive of the consequences of carrying back the viceroy to Spain, presented himself before that dignitary, and announced that he was no longer a prisoner. At the same time he excused himself for the part he had taken, by his desire to save the life of Blasco Nuñez, and extricate him from his perilous situation. He now placed the vessel at his disposal, and assured him it should take him wherever he chose.

The viceroy, whatever faith he may have placed in the judge's explanation, eagerly availed himself of his offer. His proud spirit revolted at the idea of returning home in disgrace, foiled, as he had been, in every object of his mission. He determined to try his fortune again in the land, and his only doubt was, on what point to attempt to rally his partisans around him. At Panamá he might remain in safety, while he invoked assistance from Nicaragua and other colonies at the north. But this would be to abandon his government at once; and such a confession of weakness would have a bad effect on his followers in Peru. He determined, therefore, to direct his steps towards Quito, which, while it was within his jurisdiction, was still removed far enough from the theatre of the late troubles to give him time to rally, and make head against his enemies.

In pursuance of this purpose, the viceroy and his

suite disembarked at Tumbez, about the middle of October, 1544. On landing, he issued a manifesto setting forth the violent proceedings of Gonzalo Pizarro and his followers, whom he denounced as traitors to their prince, and he called on all true subjects in the colony to support him in maintaining the royal authority. The call was not unheeded; and volunteers came in, though tardily, from San Miguel, Puerto Viejo, and other places on the coast, cheering the heart of the viceroy with the conviction that the sentiment of loyalty was not yet extinct in the bosoms of the Spaniards.

But, while thus occupied, he received tidings of the arrival of one of Pizarro's captains on the coast, with a force superior to his own. Their number was exaggerated; but Blasco Nuñez, without waiting to ascertain the truth, abandoned his position at Tumbez, and, with as much expedition as he could make across a wild and mountainous country half-buried in snow, he marched to Quito. But this capital, situated at the northern extremity of his province, was not a favourable point for the rendezvous of his followers; and, after prolonging his stay till he had received assurance from Benalcazar, the loyal commander at Popayan, that he would support him with all his strength in the coming conflict, he made a rapid counter-march to the coast, and took up his position at the town of San Miguel. This was a spot well suited to his purposes, as lying on the great high road along the shores of the Pacific, besides being the chief mart for commercial intercourse with Panamá and the north.

Here the viceroy erected his standard, and in a few

weeks found himself at the head of a force amounting to nearly five hundred in all, horse and foot, ill provided with arms and ammunition, but apparently zealous in the cause. Finding himself in sufficient strength to commence active operations, he now sallied forth against several of Pizarro's captains in the neighbourhood, over whom he obtained some decided advantages, which renewed his confidence, and flattered him with the hopes of re-establishing his ascendency in the country.*

During this time Gonzalo Pizarro was not idle. He had watched with anxiety the viceroy's movements; and was now convinced that it was time to act, and that, if he would not be unseated himself, he must dislodge his formidable rival. He accordingly placed a strong garrison under a faithful officer in Lima, and, after sending forward a force of some six hundred men by land to Truxillo, he embarked for the same port himself, on the 4th of March, 1545, the very day on which the viceroy had marched from Quito.

At Truxillo Pizarro put himself at the head of his little army, and moved without loss of time against San Miguel. His rival, eager to bring their quarrel to an issue, would fain have marched out to give

* Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS. — Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xiv. xv. — Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. viii. cap. xix. xx. — Relacion Anonima, MS. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. xxiii. — Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.

The author of the document last cited notices the strong feeling for the Crown existing in several of the cities, and mentions also the rumour of a meditated assault on Cuzco by the Indians. —The writer belonged to the discomfited party of Blasco Nuñez, and the facility with which exiles credit reports in their own favour is proverbial.

him battle; but his soldiers, mostly young and inexperienced levies, hastily brought together, were intimidated by the name of Pizarro. They loudly insisted on being led into the upper country, where they would be reinforced by Benalcazar; and their unfortunate commander, like the rider of some unmanageable steed, to whose humours he is obliged to submit, was hurried away in a direction contrary to his wishes. It was the fate of Blasco Nuñez to have his purposes baffled alike by his friends and his enemies.

On arriving before San Miguel, Gonzalo Pizarro found, to his great mortification, that his antagonist had left it. Without entering the town, he quickened his pace, and, after traversing a valley of some extent, reached the skirts of a mountain chain, into which Blasco Nuñez had entered but a few hours before. It was late in the evening; but Pizarro, knowing the importance of despatch, sent forward Carbajal with a party of light troops to overtake the fugitives. That captain succeeded in coming up with their lonely bivouac among the mountains at midnight, when the weary troops were buried in slumber. Startled from their repose by the blast of the trumpet, which, strange to say, their enemy had incautiously sounded,* the viceroy and his men sprang to their feet, mounted their horses, grasped their arquebuses, and poured such a volley into the ranks of their assailants, that Carbajal, disconcerted by his reception,

* "Mas Francisco Caruajal q̃ los yua siguiendo, llegó quatro horas de la noche á dõde estauan: y con vna trompeta quelle aua les tocó arma: y sentido por el Virey se leuantó luego el primero." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. xl.

found it prudent, with his inferior force, to retreat. The viceroy followed, till, fearing an ambuscade in the darkness of the night, he withdrew, and allowed his adversary to rejoin the main body of the army under Pizarro.

This conduct of Carbajal, by which he allowed the game to slip through his hands, from mere carelessness, is inexplicable. It forms a singular exception to the habitual caution and vigilance displayed in his military career. Had it been the act of any other captain, it would have cost him his head. But Pizarro, although greatly incensed, set too high a value on the services and well-tried attachment of his lieutenant, to quarrel with him. Still it was considered of the last importance to overtake the enemy, before he had advanced much farther to the north, where the difficulties of the ground would greatly embarrass the pursuit. Carbajal, anxious to retrieve his error, was accordingly again placed at the head of a corps of light troops, with instructions to harass the enemy's march, cut off his stores, and keep him in check, if possible, till the arrival of Pizarro.*

But the viceroy had profited by the recent delay to gain considerably on his pursuers. His road led across the valley of Caxas, a broad uncultivated district, affording little sustenance for man or beast. Day after day his troops held on their march through this dreary region, intersected with *barrancas* and rocky ravines that added incredibly to their toil. Their principal food was the parched corn, which usually formed the nourishment of the travelling Indians, though held of

* Fernandez, ubi supra.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. ix. cap. xxii.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., lib. iv. cap. xxvi.

much less account by the Spaniards; and this meagre fare was reinforced by such herbs as they found on the way-side, which, for want of better utensils, the soldiers were fain to boil in their helmets.* Carbajal, meanwhile, pressed on them so close, that their baggage, ammunition, and sometimes their mules, fell into his hands. The indefatigable warrior was always on their track, by day and by night, allowing them scarcely any repose. They spread no tent, and lay down in their arms, with their steeds standing saddled beside them; and hardly had the weary soldier closed his eyes, when he was startled by the cry that the enemy was upon him.†

At length the harassed followers of Blasco Nuñez reached the *depoblado*, or desert of Paltos, which stretches towards the north for many a dreary league. The ground, intersected by numerous streams, has the character of a great quagmire, and men and horses floundered about in the stagnant waters, or with difficulty worked their way over the marsh, or opened a passage through the tangled underwood that shot up in rank luxuriance from the surface. The wayworn horses, without food, except such as they could pick up in the wilderness, were often spent with travel, and, becoming unserviceable, were left to die on the

* "Caminando, pues, comiendo algunas jervas, que cocian en las celadas, quando paraban á dar aliento á los caballos." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. ix. cap. xxiv.

† "I sin que en todo el camino los vnos ni los otros quitasen las sillas á los caballos. Aunque en este caso estaba mas alerta la gente del Visorei, porque si algun pequeño rato de la noche reposaban, era vestidos i teniendo siempre los caballos del cabestro, sin esperar á poner toldos, ni á adereçar las otras formas, que se suelen tener para atar los caballos de noche." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xxix.

road, with their hamstrings cut, that they might be of no use to the enemy; though more frequently they were despatched to afford a miserable banquet to their masters.* Many of the men now fainted by the way from mere exhaustion, or loitered in the woods, unable to keep up with the march. And woe to the straggler who fell into the hands of Carbajal, at least if he had once belonged to the party of Pizarro. The mere suspicion of treason sealed his doom with the unrelenting soldier.†

The sufferings of Pizarro and his troop were scarcely less than those of the viceroy; though they were somewhat mitigated by the natives of the country, who, with ready instinct, discerned which party was the strongest, and, of course, the most to be feared. But, with every alleviation, the chieftain's sufferings were terrible. It was repeating the dismal scenes of the expedition to the Amazon. The soldiers of the Conquest must be admitted to have purchased their triumphs dearly.

Yet the viceroy had one source of disquietude, greater, perhaps, than any arising from physical suffering. This was the distrust of his own followers. There were several of the principal cavaliers in his suite whom he suspected of being in correspondence with the enemy, and even of designing to betray him into their hands. He was so well convinced of this,

* "I en cansandose el caballo, le desjarretaba, i le dexaba, porque sus contrarios no se aprovechasen de él." Zarate, loc. cit.

† "Had it not been for Gonzalo Pizarro's interference," says Fernandez, "many more would have been hung up by his lieutenant, who *pleasantly* quoted the old Spanish proverb,—'The fewer of our enemies the better.'" *De los enemigos, los menos.* Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. xl.

that he caused two of these officers to be put to death on the march; and their dead bodies, as they lay by the road-side, meeting the eye of the soldier, told him that there were others to be feared in these frightful solitudes besides the enemy in his rear.*

Another cavalier, who held the chief command under the viceroy, was executed, after a more formal investigation of his case, at the first place where the army halted. At this distance of time, it is impossible to determine how far the suspicions of Blasco Nuñez were founded on truth. The judgments of contemporaries are at variance.† In times of political ferment, the opinion of the writer is generally determined by the complexion of his party. To judge from the character of Blasco Nuñez, jealous and irritable, we might suppose him to have acted without sufficient cause. But this consideration is counterbalanced by that of the facility with which his followers swerved from their allegiance to their commander, who seems to have had so light a hold on their affections, that they were shaken off by the least reverse of fortune. Whether his suspicions were well

* "Los afligidos soldados, que por el cansancio de los caballos iban á pie con terrible angustia, por la persecucion de los enemigos, que iban cerca, i por la fatiga de la hambre, quando vieron los cuerpos de los dos capitanes muertos en aquel camino, quedaron atonitos." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. ix. cap. xxv.

† Fernandez, who held a loyal pen, and one sufficiently friendly to the viceroy, after stating that the officers, whom the latter put to death, had served him to that time with their lives and fortunes, dismisses the affair with the temperate reflection, that men formed different judgments on it. "Sobre estas muertes uuo en el Perú varios y contrarios juyzios y opiniones, de culpa y de su descargo." (Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. xli.) Gomara says, more unequivocally, "All condemned it." (Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxvii.) The weight of opinion seems to have been against the viceroy.

or ill-founded, the effect was the same on the mind of the viceroy. With an enemy in his rear whom he dared not fight, and followers whom he dared not trust, the cup of his calamities was nearly full.

At length he issued forth on firm ground, and, passing through Tomebamba, Blasco Nuñez re-entered his northern capital of Quito. But his reception was not so cordial as that which he had before experienced. He now came as a fugitive, with a formidable enemy in pursuit; and he was soon made to feel that the surest way to receive support is not to need it.

Shaking from his feet the dust of the disloyal city, whose superstitious people were alive to many an omen that boded his approaching ruin,* the unfortunate commander held on his way towards Pastos, in the jurisdiction of Benalcazar. Pizarro and his forces entered Quito not long after, disappointed, that, with all his diligence, the enemy still eluded his pursuit. He halted only to breathe his men, and, declaring that "he would follow up the viceroy to the North Sea, but he would overtake him,"† he resumed his march. At Pastos, he nearly accomplished his object. His advance-guard came up with Blasco Nuñez as the latter was halting on the opposite bank of a rivulet. Pizarro's men, fainting from toil and heat, staggered feebly to the water-side, to slake their burning thirst,

* Some of these omens recorded by the historian—as the howling of dogs—were certainly no miracles. "En esta lamentable i angustiosa partida, muchos afirmaron haver visto por el aire muchos cometas, i que quadrillas de perros andaban por las calles, dando grandes i temerosos ahullidos, i los hombres andaban asombrados i fuera de si." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. x. cap. iv.

† Ibid. ubi, supra.

and it would have been easy for the viceroy's troops, refreshed by repose, and superior in number to their foes, to have routed them. But Blasco Nuñez could not bring his soldiers to the charge. They had fled so long before their enemy, that the mere sight of him filled their hearts with panic, and they would have no more thought of turning against him than the hare would turn against the hound that pursues her. Their safety, they felt, was to fly, not to fight, and they profited by the exhaustion of their pursuers only to quicken their retreat.

Gonzalo Pizarro continued the chace some leagues beyond Pastos; when, finding himself carried farther than he desired into the territories of Benalcazar, and not caring to encounter this formidable captain at disadvantage, he came to a halt, and, notwithstanding his magnificent vaunt about the North Sea, ordered a retreat, and made a rapid counter-march on Quito. Here he found occupation in repairing the wasted spirits of his troops, and in strengthening himself with fresh reinforcements, which much increased his numbers; though these were again diminished by a body that he detached under Carbajal to suppress an insurrection, which he now learned had broken out in the south. It was headed by Diego Centeno, one of his own officers, whom he had established in La Plata, the inhabitants of which place had joined in the revolt and raised the standard for the Crown. With the rest of his forces Pizarro resolved to remain at Quito, waiting the hour when the viceroy would reenter his dominions; as the tiger crouches by some spring in the wilderness, patiently waiting the return of his victims.

Meanwhile Blasco Nuñez had pushed forward his retreat to Popayan, the capital of Benalcazar's province. Here he was kindly received by the people; and his soldiers, reduced by desertion and disease to one-fifth of their original number, rested from the unparalleled fatigues of a march which had continued for more than two hundred leagues.* It was not long before he was joined by Cabrera, Benalcazar's lieutenant, with a stout reinforcement, and, soon after, by that chieftain himself. His whole force now amounted to near four hundred men, most of them in good condition, and well trained in the school of American warfare. His own men were sorely deficient both in arms and ammunition; and he set about repairing the want, by building furnaces for manufacturing arquebuses and pikes.†—One familiar with the history of these times is surprised to see the readiness with which the Spanish adventurers turned their hands to various trades and handicrafts usually requiring a long apprenticeship. They displayed the dexterity so necessary to settlers in a new country, where every man must become in some degree his own artisan. But

* This retreat of Blasco Nuñez may undoubtedly compare, if not in duration, at least in sharpness of suffering, with any expedition in the New World,—save, indeed, that of Gonzalo Pizarro himself to the Amazon. The particulars of it may be found, with more or less amplification, in Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xix. xxix. — Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. vii. lib. ix. cap. xx.—xxvi.— Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. xl. et seq.—Relacion de los Sucesos del Peru, MS.—Relacion Anonima, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1545.

† "Proveió, que se tragese alli todo el hierro que se pudo haver en la provincia, i buscó maestros, i hiço adereçar fraguas, i en breve tiempo se forjaron en ellas docientos arcabuces, con todos sus apáre-jos." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xxxiv.

this state of things, however favourable to the ingenuity of the artist, is not very propitious to the advancement of the art; and there can be little doubt that the weapons thus made by the soldiers of Blasco Nuñez were of the most rude and imperfect construction.

As week after week rolled away, Gonzalo Pizarro, though fortified with the patience of a Spanish soldier, felt uneasy at the protracted stay of Blasco Nuñez in the north, and he resorted to stratagem to decoy him from his retreat. He marched out of Quito with the greater part of his forces, pretending that he was going to support his lieutenant in the south, while he left a garrison in the city under the command of Puelles, the same officer who had formerly deserted from the viceroy. These tidings he took care should be conveyed to the enemy's camp. The artifice succeeded as he wished. Blasco Nuñez and his followers, confident in their superiority over Puelles, did not hesitate for a moment to profit by the supposed absence of Pizarro. Abandoning Popayan, the viceroy, early in January, 1546, moved by rapid marches towards the south. But before he reached the place of his destination, he became apprised of the snare into which he had been drawn. He communicated the fact to his officers; but he had already suffered so much from suspense, that his only desire now was, to bring his quarrel with Pizarro to the final abitrament of arms.

That chief, meanwhile, had been well informed, through his spies, of the viceroy's movements. On learning the departure of the latter from Popayan, he had re-entered Quito, joined his forces with those

of Puelles, and, issuing from the capital, had taken up a strong position about three leagues to the north, on a high ground that commanded a stream, across which the enemy must pass. It was not long before the latter came in sight, and Blasco Nuñez, as night began to fall, established himself on the opposite bank of the rivulet. It was so near to the enemies' quarters, that the voices of the sentinels could be distinctly heard in the opposite camps, and they did not fail to salute one another with the epithet of "traitors." In these civil wars, as we have seen, each party claimed for itself the exclusive merit of loyalty.*

But Benalcazar soon saw that Pizarro's position was too strong to be assailed with any chance of success. He proposed, therefore, to the viceroy, to draw off his forces secretly in the night; and, making a détour round the hills, to fall on the enemy's rear, where he would be least prepared to receive them. The council was approved; and no sooner were the two hosts shrouded from each other's eyes by the darkness, than, leaving his camp fires burning to deceive the enemy, Blasco Nuñez broke up his quarters, and began his circuitous march in the direction of Quito. But either he had been misinformed, or his guides misled him; for the roads proved so impracticable, that he was compelled to make a circuit of such extent, that dawn broke before he drew near the point of attack. Finding that he must now abandon the advantage of a surprise, he pressed forward to Quito, where he arrived

* "Que se llegaron á hablar los corredores de ambas partes, llamandose traidores los vnos á los otros, fundando que cada vno sustentaba la voz del Rei, i asi estuvieron toda aquella noche aguardando." Zarate, ubi supra.

with men and horses sorely fatigued by a night-march of eight leagues, from a point which, by the direct route, would not have exceeded three. It was a fatal error on the eve of an engagement.*

He found the capital nearly deserted by the men. They had all joined the standard of Pizarro; for they had now caught the general spirit of disaffection, and looked upon that chief as their protector from the oppressive ordinances. Pizarro was the representative of the people. Greatly moved at this desertion, the unhappy viceroy, lifting his hands to heaven, exclaimed, "Is it thus, Lord, that thou abandonest thy servants?" The women and children came out, and in vain offered him food, of which he stood obviously in need, asking him, at the same time, "Why he had come there to die?" His followers, with more indifference than their commander, entered the houses of the inhabitants, and unceremoniously appropriated whatever they could find to appease the cravings of appetite.

* For the preceding pages, see Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xxxiv. xxxv.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxvii.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS. —Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1546.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. l.—lii.

Herrera, in his account of these transactions, has fallen into a strange confusion of dates, fixing the time of the viceroy's entry into Quito on the 10th of January, and that of his battle with Pizarro nine days later. (Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. i. cap. i.) This last event, which, by the testimony of Fernandez, was on the 18th of the month, was, by the agreement of such contemporary authorities as I have consulted,—as stated in the text,—on the evening of the same day in which the viceroy entered Quito. Herrera, though his work is arranged on the chronological system of annals, is by no means immaculate as to his dates. Quintana has exposed several glaring anachronisms of the historian in the earlier period of the Peruvian conquest. See his "Españoles Celebres," tom. ii. *Appendix, No. 7.*

Benalcazar, who saw the temerity of giving battle in their present condition, recommended the viceroy to try the effect of negotiation, and offered himself to go to the enemy's camp, and arrange, if possible, terms of accommodation with Pizarro. But Blasco Nuñez, if he had desponded for a moment, had now recovered his wonted constancy, and he proudly replied,—"There is no faith to be kept with traitors. We have come to fight, not to parley; and we must do our duty like good and loyal cavaliers. I will do mine," he continued, "and be assured I will be the first man to break a lance with the enemy."*

He then called his troops together, and addressed to them a few words preparatory to marching. "You are all brave men," he said, "and loyal to your sovereign. For my own part, I hold life as little in comparison with my duty to my prince. Yet let us not distrust our success. The Spaniard, in a good cause, has often overcome greater odds than these. And we are fighting for the right; it is the cause of God,—the cause of God,"† he concluded, and the soldiers, kindled by his generous ardour, answered him with huzzas that went to the heart of the unfortunate commander, little accustomed of late to this display of enthusiasm.

It was the 18th of January, 1546, when Blasco Nuñez marched out at the head of his array, from the ancient city of Quito. He had proceeded but a mile,‡ when he came in view of the enemy, formed along the

* "Yo os prometo, que la primera lãça que se rompa en los enemigos sea la mia (y assi lo cumplio)." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. liii.

† "Que de Dios es la causa, de Dios es la causa, de Dios es la causa." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xxxv.

‡ "Un quarto de legua de la ciudad." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

crest of some high lands, which, by a gentle swell rose gradually from the plains of Anaquito. Gonzalo Pizarro, greatly chagrined on ascertaining the departure of the viceroy, early in the morning, had broken up his camp, and directed his march on the capital, fully resolved that his enemy should not escape him.

The viceroy's troops, now coming to a halt, were formed in order of battle. A small body of arquebusiers was stationed in the advance to begin the fight. The remainder of that corps was distributed among the spearmen, who occupied the centre, protected on the flanks by the horse drawn up in two nearly equal squadrons. The cavalry amounted to about one hundred and forty, being little inferior to that on the other side, though the whole number of the viceroy's forces, being less than four hundred, did not much exceed the half of his rival's. On the right, and in front of the royal banner, Blasco Nuñez, supported by thirteen chosen cavaliers, took his station, prepared to head the attack.

Pizarro had formed his troops in a corresponding manner with that of his adversary. They mustered about seven hundred in all, well appointed, in good condition, and officered by the best knights in Peru.* As, notwithstanding his superiority of numbers, Pizarro did not seem inclined to abandon his advantageous

* The amount of the numbers on both sides is variously given, as usual, making, however, more than the usual difference in the relative proportions, since the sum total is so small. I have conformed to the statements of the best-instructed writers. Pizarro estimates his adversary's force at four hundred and fifty men, and his own at only six hundred; an estimate, it may be remarked, that does not make that given in the text any less credible.

position, Blasco Nuñez gave orders to advance. The action commenced with the arquebusiers, and in a few moments the dense clouds of smoke, rolling over the field, obscured every object; for it was late in the day when the action began, and the light was rapidly fading.

The infantry, now levelling their pikes, advanced under cover of the smoke, and were soon hotly engaged with the opposite files of spearmen. Then came the charge of the cavalry, which—notwithstanding they were thrown into some disorder by the fire of Pizarro's arquebusiers, far superior in number to their own—was conducted with such spirit that the enemy's horse were compelled to reel and fall back before it. But it was only to recoil with greater violence, as, like an overwhelming wave, Pizarro's troopers rushed on their foes, driving them along the slope, and bearing down man and horse in indiscriminate ruin. Yet these, in turn, at length rallied, cheered on by the cries and desperate efforts of their officers. The lances were shivered, and they fought hand to hand with swords and battle-axes mingled together in wild confusion. But the struggle was of no long duration; for, though the numbers were nearly equal, the viceroy's cavalry, jaded by the severe march of the previous night,* were no match for their antagonists. The ground was strewn with the wreck of their bodies; and horses and riders, the dead and the dying, lay heaped on one another. Cabrera, the brave lieutenant of Benalcazar, was slain, and that commander was thrown under his horse's feet, covered with wounds, and left for dead on the field. Alvarez, the judge, was mortally wounded. Both he

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xxxv.

and his colleague Cepeda were in the action, though ranged on opposite sides, fighting as if they had been bred to arms, not to the peaceful profession of the law.

Yet Blasco Nuñez and his companions maintained a brave struggle on the right of the field. The viceroy had kept his word by being the first to break his lance against the enemy, and by a well-directed blow had borne a cavalier, named Alonso de Montalvo, clean out of his saddle. But he was at length overwhelmed by numbers, and, as his companions, one after another, fell by his side, he was left nearly unprotected. He was already wounded, when a blow on the head from the battle-axe of a soldier struck him from his horse, and he fell stunned on the ground. Had his person been known, he might have been taken alive, but he wore a sobre-vest of Indian cotton over his armour, which concealed the military order of St. James, and the other badges of his rank.*

His person, however, was soon recognized by one of Pizarro's followers, who, not improbably, had once followed the viceroy's banner. The soldier immediately pointed him out to the Licentiate Carbajal. This person was the brother of the cavalier, whom, as the reader may remember, Blasco Nuñez had so rashly

* He wore this dress, says Garcilasso de la Vega, that he might fare no better than a common soldier, but take his chance with the rest. (Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.) Pizarro gives him credit for no such magnanimous intent. According to him, the viceroy assumed this disguise, that, his rank being unknown, he might have the better chance for escape.—It must be confessed that this is the general motive for a disguise. "I Blasco Nuñez puso mucha diligencia por poder huirse si pudiera, porque venia vestido con una camiseta de Yndios por no ser conocido, i no quiso Dios porque pagase quantos males por su causa se havian hecho." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

put to death in his palace at Lima. The licentiate had afterwards taken service under Pizarro, and, with several of his kindred, was pledged to take vengeance on the viceroy. Instantly riding up, he taunted the fallen commander with the murder of his brother, and was in the act of dismounting to despatch him with his own hand, when Puelles remonstrating on this, as an act of degradation, commanded one of his attendants, a black slave, to cut off the viceroy's head. This the fellow executed with a single stroke of his sabre, while the wretched man, perhaps then dying of his wounds, uttered no word, but with eyes imploringly turned up towards heaven, received the fatal blow.* The head was then borne aloft on a pike, and some were brutal enough to pluck out the grey hairs from the beard and set them in their caps, as grisly trophies of their victory.† The fate of the day was now decided. Yet still the infantry made a brave stand, keeping Pizarro's horse at bay with their bristling array of pikes. But their numbers were thinned by the arquebusiers; and, thrown into disorder, they could no longer resist the onset of the horse, who broke into their column, and soon scattered and drove them off the ground. The pursuit

* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. liv.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xxxv.

Mandó á un Negro que traía, que le cortase la cabeça; i en todo esto no se conoció flaqueça en el Visorrei, ni habló palabra, ni hiço mas movimiento, que alçar los ojos al cielo, dando muestras de mucha Christiandad i constancia." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. i. cap. iii.

† "Aviendo algunos capitanes y personas arrancado y pelado algunas de sus blancas y leales baruas, para traer por empresa; y Juã de la Torre las traxo despues publicamente en la gorra por la ciudad de Los Reyes." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. liv.

was neither long nor bloody; for darkness came on, and Pizarro bade his trumpets sound, to call his men together under their banners.

Though the action lasted but a short time, nearly one-third of the viceroy's troops had perished. The loss of their opponents was inconsiderable.* Several of the vanquished cavaliers took refuge in the churches of Quito. But they were dragged from the sanctuary, and some — probably those who had once espoused the cause of Pizarro — were led to execution, and others banished to Chili. The greater part were pardoned by the conqueror. Benalcazar, who recovered from his wounds, was permitted to return to his government, on condition of no more bearing arms against Pizarro. His troops were invited to take service under the banner of the victor, who, however, never treated them with the confidence shewn to his ancient partisans. He was greatly displeased at the indignities offered to the viceroy, whose mangled remains he caused to be buried with the honours due to his rank in the cathedral of Quito. Gonzalo Pizarro, attired in black, walked as chief mourner in the procession.—It was usual with the Pizarros, as we have seen, to pay these obituary honours to their victims.†

* The estimates of killed and wounded in this action are as discordant as usual. Some carry the viceroy's loss to two hundred, while Gonzalo Pizarro rates his own at only seven killed and but a few wounded. But how rarely is it that a faithful bulletin is issued by the parties engaged in the action!

† For the accounts of the battle of Añaquito, rather summarily despatched by most writers, see Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxx.— Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. i. cap. i. iii. —Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq. MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xxxv. — Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1546. — Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iv. cap. xxxiii. xxxv. — Fernandez,

Such was the sad end of Blasco Nuñez Vela, first viceroy of Peru. It was less than two years since he had set foot in the country, a period of unmitigated disaster and disgrace. His misfortunes may be imputed partly to circumstances, and partly to his own character. The minister of an odious and oppressive law, he was intrusted with no discretionary power in the execution of it.* Yet every man may, to a certain extent, claim the right to such a power; since, to execute a commission, which circumstances shew must certainly defeat the object for which it was designed, would be absurd. But it requires sagacity to determine the existence of such a contingency, and moral courage to assume the responsibility of acting on it. Such a crisis is the severest test of character. To dare to disobey, from a paramount sense of duty, is a paradox that a little soul can hardly comprehend. Unfortunately, Blasco Nuñez was a pedantic martinet, a man of narrow views, who could not feel himself authorized under any circumstances to swerve from the letter of the law. Puffed up by his brief authority,

Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. liii. liv.

Gonzalo Pizarro seems to regard the battle as a sort of judicial trial by combat, in which Heaven, by the result, plainly indicated the right. His remarks are edifying. "Por donde parecerá claramente que Nuestro Señor fué servido este se viniese á meter en las manos para quitarnos de tantos cuidados, i que pagase quantos males havia fecho en la tierra, la qual quedó tan asosegada i tan en paz i servicio de S. M. como lo estuvo en tiempo del Marques mi hermano." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

* Garcilasso's reflections on this point are commendably tolerant. "Assi acabó este buen cauallero, por querer porfiar tanto en la execucion de lo que ni á su Rey ni á aquel reyno conuenia, donde se causaron tantas muertes y daños de Españoles y de Yndios: aunque no tuuo tanta culpa como se le atribuye, porque lleuó preciso mandato de lo que hizó." Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.

moreover, he considered opposition to the ordinances as treason to himself; and thus, identifying himself with his commission, he was prompted by personal feelings, quite as much as by those of a public and patriotic nature.

Neither was the viceroy's character of a kind that tended to mitigate the odium of his measures, and reconcile the people to their execution. It afforded a strong contrast to that of his rival, Pizarro, whose frank, chivalrous bearing, and generous confidence in his followers, made him universally popular, blinding their judgments, and giving to the worse the semblance of the better cause. Blasco Nuñez, on the contrary, irritable and suspicious, placed himself in a false position with all whom he approached; for a suspicious temper creates an atmosphere of distrust around it that kills every kindly affection. His first step was to alienate the members of the Audience, who were sent to act in concert with him. But this was their fault as well as his, since they were as much too lax, as he was too severe, in the interpretation of the law.* He next alienated and outraged the people whom he was appointed to govern. And, lastly, he disgusted his own friends, and too often turned them into enemies; so that, in his final struggle for power and for existence, he was obliged to rely on the arm of the stranger. Yet in the catalogue of his qualities we

* Blasco Nuñez characterized the four judges of the Audience in a manner more concise than complimentary,—a boy, a madman, a booby, and a dunce! "Decia muchas veces Blasco Nuñez, que le havian dado el Emperador i su consejo de Indias vn moço, un loco, un necio, vn tonto por oidores, que asi lo havian hecho como ellos eran. Moço era Cepeda, i llamaba loco á Juan Alvarez, i necio á Tejada, que no sabia Latin." Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxxi.

must not pass in silence over his virtues. There are two, to the credit of which he is undeniably entitled,—a loyalty, which shone the brighter amidst the general defection around him, and a constancy under misfortune, which might challenge the respect even of his enemies. But with the most liberal allowance for his merits, it can scarcely be doubted that a person more incompetent to the task assigned him could not have been found in Castile.*

The victory of Añaquito was received with general joy in the neighbouring capital; all the cities of Peru looked on it as sealing the downfall of the detested ordinances, and the name of Gonzalo Pizarro was sounded from one end of the country to the other as that of its deliverer. That chief continued to prolong his stay in Quito during the wet season, dividing his time between the licentious pleasures of the reckless adventurer and the cares of business that now pressed on him as ruler of the state. His administration was stained with fewer acts of violence than might have been expected from the circumstances of his situation. So long as Carbajal, the counsellor in whom he unfortunately placed greatest reliance, was absent, Gonzalo sanctioned no execution, it was observed, but according to the forms of law.† He

* The account of Blasco Nuñez Vela rests chiefly on the authority of loyal writers, some of whom wrote after their return to Castile. They would, therefore, more naturally lean to the side of the true representative of the Crown, than to that of the rebel. Indeed, the only voice raised decidedly in favour of Pizarro is his own,—a very suspicious authority. Yet, with all the *prestiges* in his favour, the administration of Blasco Nuñez, from universal testimony, was a total failure. And there is little to interest us in the story of the man, except his unparalleled misfortunes, and the firmness with which he bore them.

† "Nunca Piçarro, en ausen-

rewarded his followers by new grants of land, and detached several on expeditions, to no greater distance, however, than would leave it in his power readily to recall them. He made various provisions for the welfare of the natives, and some, in particular, for instructing them in the Christian faith. He paid attention to the faithful collection of the royal dues, urging on the colonists that they should deport themselves so as to conciliate the good-will of the Crown, and induce a revocation of the ordinances. His administration, in short, was so conducted, that even the austere Gasca, his successor, allowed "it was a good government,—for a tyrant."*

At length, in July, 1546, the new governor bade adieu to Quito, and, leaving there a sufficient garrison under his officer Puelles, began his journey to the south. It was a triumphal progress, and everywhere he was received on the road with enthusiasm by the people. At Truxillo the citizens came out in a body to welcome him, and the clergy chanted anthems in his honour, extolling him as the "victorious prince," and imploring the Almighty "to lengthen his days, and give him honour."† At Lima it was proposed to clear away some of the buildings, and open a new

cia de Francisco de Carvajal, su maestre de campo, mató ni consintió matar Español, sin que todos los mas de su consejo lo aprobasen; i entonces con proceso en forma de derecho, i confesados primero." Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxxii.

* Ibid., ubi supra.—Fernandez gives a less favourable picture of Gonzalo's administration. (Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. i. cap. liv.; lib. ii. cap. xiii.) Fernandez wrote at the instance of the Court; Gomara, though present at court, wrote to please himself. The praise of Gomara is less suspicious than the censure of Fernandez.

† "Victorioso Principe, hagate Dios dichoso i bienaventurado, él te mantenga i te conserve." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. ii. cap. ix.

street for his entrance, which might ever after bear the name of the victor. But the politic chieftain declined this flattering tribute, and modestly preferred to enter the city by the usual way. A procession was formed of the citizens, the soldiers, and the clergy, and Pizarro made his entry into the capital with two of his principal captains on foot, holding the reins of his charger, while the archbishop of Lima, and the bishops of Cuzco, Quito, and Bogotá, the last of whom had lately come to the city to be consecrated, rode by his side. The streets were strewn with boughs, the walls of the houses hung with showy tapestries, and triumphal arches were thrown over the way in honour of the victor. Every balcony, veranda, and house-top was crowded with spectators, who sent up huzzas, loud and long, saluting the victorious soldier with the titles of "Liberator, and Protector of the people." The bells rang out their joyous peal, as on his former entrance into the capital; and amidst strains of enlivening music, and the blithe sounds of jubilee, Gonzalo held on his way to the palace of his brother. Peru was once more placed under the dynasty of the Pizarros.*

Deputies came from different parts of the country, tendering the congratulations of their respective cities; and every one eagerly urged his own claims to consideration for the services he had rendered in the revolution. Pizarro, at the same time, received the welcome intelligence of the success of his arms in the

* For an account of this pageant, see Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. ii. cap. ix. — Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. v. — Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

south. Diego Centeno, as before stated, had there raised the standard of rebellion, or, rather, of loyalty to his sovereign. He had made himself master of La Plata, and the spirit of insurrection had spread over the broad province of Charcas. Carbajal, who had been sent against him from Quito, after repairing to Lima, had passed at once to Cuzco, and there, strengthening his forces, had descended by rapid marches on the refractory district. Centeno did not trust himself in the field against this formidable champion. He retreated with his troops into the fastnesses of the sierra. Carbajal pursued, following on his track with the pertinacity of a bloodhound; over mountain and moor, through forests and dangerous ravines, allowing him no respite, by day or by night. Eating, drinking, sleeping in his saddle, the veteran, eighty years of age, saw his own followers tire one after another, while he urged on the chase, like the wild huntsman of Bürger, as if endowed with an unearthly frame, incapable of fatigue! During this terrible pursuit, which continued for more than two hundred leagues over a savage country, Centeno found himself abandoned by most of his followers. Such of them as fell into Carbajal's hands were sent to speedy execution; for that inexorable chief had no mercy on those who had been false to their party.* At length, Centeno, with a handful of men, arrived on the borders of the Pacific, and there, separating from one another, they provided, each in the best way he could, for their own safety. Their leader found an

* *Poblando los arboles con sus cuerpos,* ("peopling the trees with their bodies,") says Fernandez, strongly; alluding to the manner in which the ferocious officer hung up his captives on the branches.

asylum in a cave in the mountains, where he was secretly fed by an Indian curaca, till the time again came for him to unfurl the standard of revolt.*

Carbajal, after some further decisive movements, which fully established the ascendency of Pizarro over the south, returned in triumph to La Plata. There he occupied himself with working the silver mines of Potosí, in which a vein, recently opened, promised to make richer returns than any yet discovered in Mexico or Peru;† and he was soon enabled to send large remittances to Lima, deducting no stinted commission for himself,—for the cupidity of the lieutenant was equal to his cruelty.

Gonzalo Pizarro was now undisputed master of Peru. From Quito, to the northern confines of Chili, the whole country acknowledged his authority. His fleet rode triumphant on the Pacific, and gave him the command of every city and hamlet on its borders.

* For the expedition of Carbajal, see Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. i. cap. ix. et seq.— Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. i.— Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iv. cap. xxviii. xxix. xxxvi. xxxix. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. i. et seq. — Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro á Valdivia, MS.

It is impossible to give, in a page or two, any adequate idea of the hairbreadth escapes and perilous risks of Carbajal, not only from the enemy, but from his own men, whose strength he overtasked in the chase. They rival those of the renowned Scanderbeg, or of the Kentucky hero, Colonel Boone. They were, indeed, far more wonderful than theirs, since the Spanish captain had reached an age when the failing energies usually crave repose. But the veteran's body seems to have been as insensible as his soul.

† The vein now discovered at Potosí was so rich, that the other mines were comparatively deserted in order to work this. (Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. iv.) The effect of the sudden influx of wealth was such, according to Garcilasso, that in ten years from this period an iron horseshoe, in that quarter, came to be worth nearly its weight in silver. Com. Real., parte i. lib. viii. cap xxiv.

His admiral, Hinojosa, a discreet and gallant officer, had secured him Panamá, and, marching across the Isthmus, had since obtained for him the possession of Nombre de Dios, the principal key of communication with Europe. His forces were on an excellent footing, including the flower of the warriors who had fought under his brother, and who now eagerly rallied under the name of Pizarro; while the tide of wealth that flowed in from the mines of Potosí supplied him with the resources of an European monarch.

The new governor now began to assume a state correspondent with his full-blown fortunes. He was attended by a body-guard of eighty soldiers. He dined always in public, and usually with not less than a hundred guests at table. He even affected, it was said, the more decided etiquette of royalty, giving his hand to be kissed, and allowing no one, of whatever rank, to be seated in his presence.* But this is denied by others. It would not be strange that a vain man like Pizarro, with a superficial, undisciplined mind, when he saw himself thus raised from an humble condition to the highest post in the land, should be somewhat intoxicated by the possession of power, and treat with superciliousness those whom he had once approached with deference. But one who had often seen him in his prosperity assures us that it was not so, and that the governor continued to shew the same frank and soldier-like bearing as before his elevation, mingling on familiar terms with his comrades, and

* "Traia guarda de ochenta alabarderos, i otros muchos de caballo, que lé acompañaban, i iá en su presencia ninguno se sentaba, i á mui pocos quitaba la gorra." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. v.

displaying the same qualities which had hitherto endeared him to the people.*

However this may be, it is certain there were not wanting those who urged him to throw off his allegiance to the Crown, and set up an independent government for himself. Among these was his lieutenant, Carbajal, whose daring spirit never shrunk from following things to their consequences. He plainly counselled Pizarro to renounce his allegiance at once. "In fact, you have already done so," he said. "You have been in arms against a viceroy, have driven him from the country, beaten and slain him in battle. What favour, or even mercy, can you expect from the Crown? You have gone too far either to halt, or to recede. You must go boldly on, proclaim yourself king; the troops, the people, will support you." And he concluded, it is said, by advising him to marry the Coya, the female representative of the Incas, that the two races might henceforth repose in quiet under a common sceptre! †

* Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. iv. cap. xlii.

Garcilasso had opportunities of personal acquaintance with Gonzalo's manner of living; for, when a boy, he was sometimes admitted, as he tells us, to a place at his table. This courtesy, so rare from the Conquerors to any of the Indian race, was not lost on the historian of the Incas, who has depicted Gonzalo Pizarro in more favourable colours than most of his own countrymen.

† Ibid., parte ii. lib. iv. cap. xl.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxxii.—Fernández, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xiii.

The poet Molina has worked up this scene between Carbajal and his commander with good effect, in his *Amazonas en las Indias*, where he uses something of a poet's license in the homage he pays to the modest merits of Gonzalo. Julius Cæsar himself was not more magnanimous.

"Sepa mi Rey, sepa España,
Que muero por no ofenderla,
Tan facil de conservarla,
Que pierdo por no agraviarla,
Quanto infame en poseerla,
Una corona ofrecida."

The advice of the bold counsellor was, perhaps, the most politic that could have been given to Pizarro under existing circumstances. For he was like one who had heedlessly climbed far up a dizzy precipice,—too far to descend safely, while he had no sure hold where he was. His only chance was to climb still higher, till he had gained the summit. But Gonzalo Pizarro shrunk from the attitude, in which this placed him, of avowed rebellion. Notwithstanding the criminal course into which he had been, of late, seduced, the sentiment of loyalty was too deeply implanted in his bosom to be wholly eradicated. Though in arms against the measures and ministers of his sovereign, he was not prepared to raise the sword against that sovereign himself. He, doubtless, had conflicting emotions in his bosom; like Macbeth, and many a less noble nature,

> "Would not play false,
> And yet would wrongly win."

And however grateful to his vanity might be the picture of the air-drawn sceptre thus painted to his imagination, he had not the audacity—we may, perhaps, say, the criminal ambition—to attempt to grasp it.

Even at this very moment, when urged to this desperate extremity, he was preparing a mission to Spain, in order to vindicate the course he had taken, and to solicit an amnesty for the past, with a full confirmation of his authority, as successor to his brother in the government of Peru. Pizarro did not read the future with the calm, prophetic eye of Carbajal.

Among the biographical notices of the writers on Spanish colonial affairs, the name of Herrera, who has done more for this vast subject than any other author, should certainly not be omitted. His account of Peru takes its proper place in his great work, the *Historia General de las Indias*, according to the chronological plan on which that history is arranged. But, as it suggests reflections not different in character from those suggested by other portions of the work, I shall take the liberty to refer the reader to the Postscript to Book Third of the *Conquest of Mexico*, for a full account of these volumes and their learned author.

Another chronicler, to whom I have been frequently indebted in the progress of the narrative, is Francisco Lopez de Gomara. The reader will also find a notice of this author in the *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. iii. book v. postscript. But, as the remarks on his writings are there confined to his *Crónica de Nueva España*, it may be well to add here some reflections on his greater work, *Historia de las Indias*, in which the Peruvian story bears a conspicuous part.

The "History of the Indies" is intended to give a brief view of the whole range of Spanish conquest in the islands and on the American continent, as far as had been achieved by the middle of the sixteenth century. For this account, Gomara, though it does not appear that he ever visited the New World, was in a situation that opened to him the best means of information. He was well acquainted with the principal men of the time, and gathered the details of their history from their own lips; while, from his residence at court, he was in possession of the state of opinion there, and of the impression made by passing events on those most competent to judge of them. He was thus enabled to introduce into his work many interesting particulars, not to be found in other records of the period. His range of inquiry extended beyond the mere doings of the Conquerors, and led him to a survey of the general resources of the countries he describes, and especially of their physical aspect and productions. The conduct of this work, no less than its diction, shews the cultivated scholar, practised in the art of composition. Instead of the *naïveté*, engaging, but childlike, of the old military chroniclers, Gomara handles his various topics with the shrewd and piquant criticism of a man of the world; while his descriptions are managed with a comprehensive brevity that forms the opposite to the long-winded and rambling paragraphs of the monkish annalist. These literary merits, combined with the knowledge of the

writer's opportunities for information, secured his productions from the oblivion which too often awaits the unpublished manuscript; and he had the satisfaction to see them pass into more than one edition in his own day. Yet they do not bear the highest stamp of authenticity. The author too readily admits accounts into his pages which are not supported by contemporary testimony. This he does, not from credulity, for his mind rather leans in an opposite direction, but from a want, apparently, of the true spirit of historic conscientiousness. The imputation of carelessness in his statements—to use a temperate phrase—was brought against Gomara in his own day; and Garcilasso tells us, that, when called to account by some of the Peruvian cavaliers for mis-statements which bore hard on themselves, the historian made but an awkward explanation. This is a great blemish on his productions, and renders them of far less value to the modern compiler, who seeks for the well of truth undefiled, than many an humbler but less unscrupulous chronicle.

There is still another authority used in this work, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, of whom I have given an account elsewhere; and the reader curious in the matter will permit me to refer him for a critical notice of his life and writings to the *Conquest of Mexico*, book iv. postscript.—His account of Peru is incorporated into his great work, *Natural é General Historia de las Indias, MS.*, where it forms the forty-sixth and forty-seventh books. It extends from Pizarro's landing at Tumbez to Almagro's return from Chili, and thus covers the entire portion of what may be called the conquest of the country. The style of its execution, corresponding with that of the residue of the work to which it belongs, affords no ground for criticism different from that already passed on the general character of Oviedo's writings.

This eminent person was at once a scholar and a man of the world. Living much at court, and familiar with persons of the highest distinction in Castile, he yet passed much of his time in the colonies, and thus added the fruits of personal experience to what he had gained from the reports of others. His curiosity was indefatigable, extending to every department of natural science, as well as to the civil and personal history of the colonists. He was at once their Pliny and their Tacitus. His works abound in portraitures of character, sketched with freedom and animation. His reflections are piquant, and often rise to a philosophic tone, which discards the usual trammels of the age; and the progress of the story is varied by a multiplicity of personal anecdotes, that give a rapid insight into the characters of the parties.

With his eminent qualifications, and with a social position that commanded respect, it is strange that so much of his writings—the whole of his great *Historia de las Indias*, and his curious *Quincuagenas*—should be so long suffered to remain in manuscript. This is partly chargeable to the caprice of fortune; for the History was more than once on the eve of publication, and is even now understood to be prepared for the press. Yet it has serious defects, which may have contributed to keep it in its present form. In its desultory and episodical style of composition, it resembles rather notes for a great history, than history itself. It may be regarded in the light of commentaries, or as illustrations of the times. In that view his pages are of high worth, and have been frequently resorted to by writers who have not too scrupulously appropriated the statements of the old chronicler, with slight acknowledgments to their author.

It is a pity that Oviedo should have shewn more solicitude to tell what was new, than to ascertain how much of it was strictly true. Among his merits will scarcely be found that of historical accuracy. And yet we may find an apology for this, to some extent, in the fact, that his writings, as already intimated, are not so much in the nature of finished compositions, as of loose memoranda, where every thing, rumour as well as fact,—even the most contradictory rumours,—are all set down at random, forming a miscellaneous heap of materials, of which the discreet historian may avail himself to rear a symmetrical fabric on foundations of greater strength and solidity.

Another author worthy of particular note is Pedro Cieza de Leon. His *Crónica del Peru* should more properly be styled an Itinerary, or rather Geography, of Peru. It gives a minute topographical view of the country at the time of the Conquest; of its provinces and towns, both Indian and Spanish; its flourishing sea-coast; its forests, valleys, and interminable ranges of mountains in the interior; with many interesting particulars of the existing population,—their dress, manners, architectural remains, and public works,—while, scattered here and there, may be found notices of their early history and social polity. It is, in short, a lively picture of the country in its physical and moral relations, as it met the eye at the time of the Conquest, and in that transition period when it was first subjected to European influences. The conception of a work, at so early a period, on this philosophical plan, reminding us of that of Malte-Brun in our own time, —*parva componere magnis*,—was, of itself, indicative of great comprehensiveness of mind in its author. It was a task of no little diffi-

culty, where there was yet no pathway opened by the labours of the antiquarian; no hints from the sketch-book of the traveller, or the measurements of the scientific explorer. Yet the distances from place to place are all carefully jotted down by the industrious compiler, and the bearings of the different places and their peculiar features are exhibited with sufficient precision, considering the nature of the obstacles he had to encounter. The literary execution of the work, moreover, is highly respectable, sometimes even rich and picturesque; and the author describes the grand and beautiful scenery of the Cordilleras with a sensibility to its charms, not often found in the tasteless topographer, still less often in the rude Conqueror.

Cieza de Leon came to the New World, as he informs us, at the early age of thirteen. But it is not till Gasca's time that we find his name enrolled among the actors in the busy scenes of civil strife, when he accompanied the president in his campaign against Gonzalo Pizarro. His Chronicle, or, at least, the notes for it, was compiled in such leisure as he could snatch from his more stirring avocations, and after ten years from the time he undertook it, the First Part—all we have —was completed in 1550, when the author had reached only the age of thirty-two. It appeared at Seville in 1553, and the following year at Antwerp; while an Italian translation, printed at Rome, in 1555, attested the rapid celebrity of the work. The edition of Antwerp—the one used by me in this compilation—is in the duodecimo form, exceedingly well printed, and garnished with wood-cuts, in which Satan,—for the author had a full measure of the ancient credulity,—with his usual bugbear accompaniments, frequently appears in bodily presence. In the Preface, Cieza announces his purpose to continue the work in three other parts, illustrating respectively the ancient history of the country under the Incas, its conquest by the Spaniards, and the civil wars which ensued. He even gives, with curious minuteness, the contents of the several books of the projected history. But the First Part, as already noticed, was alone completed; and the author, having returned to Spain, died there in 1560, at the premature age of forty-two, without having covered any portion of the magnificent ground-plan which he had thus confidently laid out. The deficiency is much to be regretted, considering the talent of the writer, and his opportunities for personal observation. But he has done enough to render us grateful for his labours. By the vivid delineation of scenes and scenery, as they were presented fresh to his own eyes, he has furnished us with a background to the historic picture,—the land-

scape, as it were, in which the personages of the time might be more fitly portrayed. It would have been impossible to exhibit the ancient topography of the land so faithfully at a subsequent period, when old things had passed away, and the Conqueror, breaking down the landmarks of ancient civilization, had effaced many of the features even of the physical aspect of the country, as it existed under the elaborate culture of the Incas.

BOOK V.

SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

CHAPTER I.

Great Sensation in Spain.—Pedro de la Gasca.—His Early Life.—His Mission to Peru.—His Politic Conduct.—His Offers to Pizarro.—Gains the Fleet.

1545—1547.

WHILE the important revolution detailed in the preceding pages was going forward in Peru, rumours of it, from time to time, found their way to the mother-country; but the distance was so great, and opportunities for communication so rare, that the tidings were usually very long behind the occurrence of the events to which they related. The government heard with dismay of the troubles caused by the ordinances and the intemperate conduct of the viceroy; and it was not long before it learned that this functionary was deposed and driven from his capital, while the whole country, under Gonzalo Pizarro, was arrayed in arms against him. All classes were filled with consternation at this alarming intelligence; and many that had before approved the ordinances now loudly condemned the ministers, who, without considering the inflammable temper of the people, had thus rashly fired a train which menaced a general explosion throughout the colonies.* No such re-

* "Que aquello era contra una cédula que tenian del Emperador que les daba el repartimiento de los Indios de su vida, y del hijo mayor, y no teniendo hijos á sus mugeres, con mandarles espresa-

bellion, within the memory of man, had occurred in the Spanish empire. It was compared with the famous war of the *comunidades*, in the beginning of Charles the Fifth's reign. But the Peruvian insurrection seemed the more formidable of the two. The troubles of Castile, being under the eye of the Court, might be the more easily managed; while it was difficult to make the same power felt on the remote shores of the Indies. Lying along the distant Pacific, the principle of attraction which held Peru to the parent country was so feeble, that this colony might, at any time, with a less impulse than that now given to it, fly from its political orbit. It seemed as if the fairest of its jewels was about to fall from the imperial diadem!

Such was the state of things in the summer of 1545, when Charles the Fifth was absent in Germany, occupied with the religious troubles of the empire. The government was in the hands of his son, who, under the name of Philip the Second, was soon to sway the sceptre over the largest portion of his father's dominions, and who was then holding his court at Valladolid. He called together a council of prelates, jurists, and military men of greatest experience, to deliberate on the measures to be pursued for restoring order in the colonies. All agreed in regarding Pizarro's movement in the light of an audacious rebellion; and there were few, at first, who were not willing to employ the whole strength of government to vindicate the honour of the Crown,—to quell the in-

mente que se casasen como lo habian ya hecho los mas de ellos; y que tambien era contra otra cédula real que ninguno podia ser despojado de sus Indios sin ser primero oido á justicia y condenado." Historia de Don Pedro Gasca, Obispo de Siguenza, MS.

surrection, and bring the authors of it to punishment.*

But, however desirable this might appear, a very little reflection shewed that it was not easy to be done, if, indeed, it were practicable. The great distance of Peru required troops to be transported not merely across the ocean, but over the broad extent of the great continent. And how was this to be effected, when the principal posts, the keys of communication with the country, were in the hands of the rebels, while their fleet rode in the Pacific, the mistress of its waters, cutting off all approach to the coast? Even if a Spanish force could be landed in Peru, what chance would it have, unaccustomed, as it would be, to the country and the climate, of coping with the veterans of Pizarro, trained to war in the Indies and warmly attached to the person of their commander? The new levies thus sent out might become themselves infected with the spirit of insurrection, and cast off their own allegiance.†

Nothing remained, therefore, but to try conciliatory measures. The government, however mortifying to its pride, must retrace its steps. A free grace must be extended to those who submitted, and such persuasive arguments should be used, and such politic

* MS. de Caravantes. — Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.

One of this council was the great Duke of Alva, of such gloomy celebrity afterwards in the Netherlands. We may well believe his voice was for coercion.

† "Ventilose la forma del remedio de tan grave caso en que huvo dos opiniones; la una de imbiar un gran soldado con fuerza de gente á la demostracion de este castigo; la otra que se llevase el negocio por prudentes y suaves medios, por la imposibilidad y falto de dinero para llevar gente, cavallos, armas, municiones y vastimentos, y para sustentarlos en tierra firme y pasarlos al Pirú." MS. de Caravantes.

concessions made, as would convince the refractory colonists that it was their interest, as well as their duty, to return to their allegiance.

But to approach the people in their present state of excitement, and to make those concessions without too far compromising the dignity and permanent authority of the Crown, was a delicate matter, for the success of which they must rely wholly on the character of the agent. After much deliberation, a competent person, as it was thought, was found in an ecclesiastic, by the name of Pedro de la Gasca, — a name which, brighter by contrast with the gloomy times in which it first appeared, still shines with undiminished splendour after the lapse of ages.

Pedro de la Gasca was born, probably, towards the close of the fifteenth century, in a small village in Castile, named Barco de Avila. He came, both by father and mother's side, from an ancient and noble lineage; ancient indeed, if, as his biographers contend, he derived his descent from Casca, one of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar!* Having the misfortune to lose his father early in life, he was placed by his uncle in the famous seminary of Alcalá de Henares founded by the great Ximénes. Here he made rapid proficiency in liberal studies, especially in those connected with his profession, and at length received the degree of Master of Theology.

* "Pasando á España vinieron á tierra de Avila y quedó del nombre dellos el lugar y familia de Gasca; mudandose por la afinidad de la pronunciacion, que hay entre las dos letras consonantes *c. y. g.* el nombre de Casca en Gasca." Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.

Similarity of name is a peg quite strong enough to hang a pedigree upon in Castile.

The young man, however, discovered other talents than those demanded by his sacred calling. The war of the *comunidades* was then raging in the country; and the authorities of his college shewed a disposition to take the popular side. But Gasca, putting himself at the head of an armed force, seized one of the gates of the city, and, with assistance from the royal troops, secured the place to the interests of the Crown. This early display of loyalty was probably not lost on his vigilant sovereign.*

From Alcalá, Gasca was afterwards removed to Salamanca; where he distinguished himself by his skill in scholastic disputation, and obtained the highest academic honours in that ancient university, the fruitful nursery of scholarship and genius. He was subsequently intrusted with the management of some important affairs of an ecclesiastical nature, and made a member of the Council of the Inquisition.

In this latter capacity he was sent to Valencia, about 1540, to examine into certain alleged cases of heresy in that quarter of the country. These were involved in great obscurity; and, although Gasca had the assistance of several eminent jurists in the investigation, it occupied him nearly two years. In the

* This account of the early history of Gasca I have derived chiefly from a manuscript biographical notice written in 1465, during the prelate's life. The name of the author, who speaks apparently from personal knowledge, is not given; but it seems to be the work of a scholar, and is written with a certain pretension to elegance. The original MS. forms part of the valuable collection of Don Pascual de Gayangos of Madrid. It is of much value for the light it throws on the early career of Gasca, which has been passed over in profound silence by Castilian historians. It is to be regretted that the author did not continue his labours beyond the period when the subject of them received his appointment to the Peruvian mission.

conduct of this difficult matter, he shewed so much penetration, and such perfect impartiality, that he was appointed by the Cortes of Valencia to the office of *visitador* of that kingdom; a high responsible post, requiring great discretion in the person who filled it, since it was his province to inspect the condition of the courts of justice and of finance, throughout the land, with authority to reform abuses. It was proof of extraordinary consideration, that it should have been bestowed on Gasca; since it was a departure from the established usage — and that in a nation most wedded to usage — to confer the office on any but a subject of the Aragonese crown.*

Gasca executed the task assigned to him with independence and ability. While he was thus occupied, the people of Valencia were thrown into consternation by a meditated invasion of the French and the Turks, who, under the redoubtable Barbarossa, menaced the coast and the neighbouring Balearic isles. Fears were generally entertained of a rising of the Morisco population; and the Spanish officers who had command in that quarter, being left without the protection of a navy, despaired of making head against the enemy. In this season of general panic, Gasca alone appeared calm and self-possessed. He remonstrated with the Spanish commanders on their unsoldierlike despondency; encouraged them to confide in the loyalty of

* "Era tanta la opinion que en Valencia tenian de la integridad y prudencia de Gasca, que en las Cortes de Monzon los Estados de aquel reyno le pidieron por Visitador contra la costumbre y fuero de aquel reyno, que no puede serlo sino fuere natural de la corona de Araugon, y consintiendo que aquel fuero se derogase el Emperador lo concedió á instancia y peticion dellos." Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.

the Moriscos; and advised the immediate erection of fortifications along the shores for their protection. He was, in consequence, named one of a commission to superintend these works, and to raise levies for defending the sea-coast; and so faithfully was the task performed, that Barbarossa, after some ineffectual attempts to make good his landing, was baffled at all points, and compelled to abandon the enterprise as hopeless. The chief credit of this resistance must be assigned to Gasca, who superintended the construction of the defences, and who was enabled to contribute a large part of the requisite funds by the economical reforms he had introduced into the administration of Valencia.*

It was at this time, the latter part of the year 1545, that the council of Philip selected Gasca as the person most competent to undertake the perilous mission to Peru.† His character, indeed, seemed especially suited to it. His loyalty had been shewn through his whole life. With great suavity of manners he combined the most intrepid resolution. Though his demeanour was humble, as beseemed his calling, it was far from abject; for he was sustained by a conscious rectitude of purpose, that impressed respect on all with whom he had intercourse. He was acute in his perceptions,

* "Que parece cierto," says his enthusiastic biographer, "que por disposicion Divina vino á hallarse Gasca entónces en la ciudad de Valencia, para remedio de aquel reyno y islas de Mallorca y Menorca é Iviza, segun la órden, prevencion y diligencia que en la defensa contra las armadas del Turco y Francia tuvo, y las provisiones que para ello hizo." Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.

† "Finding a lion would not answer, they sent a lamb," says Gomara; — "Finalmente, quiso embiar una oveja, pues un leon no aprovecho; y asi escogió al Licenciado Pedro Gasca." Hist. de las Ind. cap. clxxiv.

had a shrewd knowledge of character, and, though bred to the cloister, possessed an acquaintance with affairs, and even with military science, such as was to have been expected only from one reared in courts and camps.

Without hesitation, therefore, the council unanimously recommended him to the Emperor, and requested his approbation of their proceedings. Charles had not been an inattentive observer of Gasca's course. His attention had been particularly called to the able manner in which he had conducted the judicial process against the heretics of Valencia.* The monarch saw, at once, that he was the man for the present emergency; and he immediately wrote to him, with his own hand, expressing his entire satisfaction at the appointment, and intimating his purpose to testify his sense of his worth by preferring him to one of the principal sees then vacant.

Gasca accepted the important mission now tendered to him without hesitation; and, repairing to Madrid, received the instructions of the government as to the course to be pursued. They were expressed in the most benign and conciliatory tone, perfectly in accordance with the suggestions of his own benevolent temper.† But, while he commended the tone of the instructions, he considered the powers with which he

* Gasca made what the author calls *una breve y copyosa relacion* of the proceedings to the emperor in Valencia; and the monarch was so intent on the inquiry, that he devoted the whole afternoon to it, notwithstanding his son Philip was waiting for him to attend a *fiesta!* irrefragable proof, as the writer conceives of his zeal for the faith.—"Queriendo entender muy de raizo todo lo que pasaba, como principe tan zeloso que era de las cosas de la religion." Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.

† These instructions, the patriarchal tone of which is highly

was to be intrusted as wholly incompetent to their object. They were conceived in the jealous spirit with which the Spanish government usually limited the authority of its great colonial officers, whose distance from home gave peculiar cause for distrust. On every strange and expected emergency, Gasca saw that he should be obliged to send back for instructions. This must cause delay, where promptitude was essential to success. The Court, moreover, as he represented to the council, was, from its remoteness from the scene of action, utterly incompetent to pronounce as to the expediency of the measures to be pursued. Some one should be sent out in whom the king could implicitly confide, and who should be invested with powers competent to every emergency; powers not merely to decide on what was best, but to carry that decision into execution; and he boldly demanded that he should go not only as the representative of the sovereign, but clothed with all the authority of the sovereign himself. Less than this would defeat the very object for which he was to be sent. "For myself," he concluded, "I ask neither salary nor compensation of any kind. I covet no display of state or military array. With my stole and breviary I trust to do the work that is committed to me.* Infirm as I am in body, the repose of my own home would have been more grateful to me than this dangerous mission; but I will not shrink from it at the bidding of my sovereign, and if, as is very probable, I may not be

creditable to the government, are given *in extenso* in the MS. of Caravantes, and in no other work which I have consulted.

* "De suerte que juzgassen que la mas fuerça que lleuaua, era su abito de clerico y breuiario." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xvi.

permitted again to see my native land, I shall, at least, be cheered by the consciousness of having done my best to serve its interests."*

The members of the council, while they listened with admiration to the disinterested avowal of Gasca, were astounded by the boldness of his demands. Not that they distrusted the purity of his motives, for these were above suspicion. But the powers for which he stipulated were so far beyond those hitherto delegated to a colonial viceroy, that they felt they had no warrant to grant them. They even shrank from soliciting them from the emperor, and required that Gasca himself should address the monarch, and state precisely the grounds on which demands so extraordinary were founded.

Gasca readily adopted the suggestion, and wrote in the most full and explicit manner to his sovereign, who had then transferred his residence to Flanders. But Charles was not so tenacious, or, at least, so jealous, of authority, as his ministers. He had been too long in possession of it to feel that jealousy; and, indeed, many years were not to elapse, before, oppressed by its weight, he was to resign it altogether into the hands of his son. His sagacious mind, moreover, readily comprehended the difficulties of Gasca's position. He felt that the present extraordinary crisis was to be met only by extraordinary measures. He assented to the force of his vassal's arguments, and, on the 16th of February, 1546, wrote him another letter expressive of his approbation, and intimated his will-

* MS. de Caravantes.—Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS. Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xvi. xvii.

Though not for himself, Gasca did solicit one favour of the emperor, — the appointment of his brother, an eminent jurist, to a vacant place on the bench of one of the Castilian tribunals.

ingness to grant him powers as absolute as those he had requested.

Gasca was to be styled President of the Royal Audience. But, under this simple title, he was placed at the head of every department in the colony, civil, military, and judicial. He was empowered to make new *repartimientos*, and to confirm those already made. He might declare war, levy troops, appoint to all offices, or remove from them, at pleasure. He might exercise the royal prerogative of pardoning offences, and was especially authorised to grant an amnesty to all, without exception, implicated in the present rebellion. He was, moreover, to proclaim at once the revocation of the odious ordinances. These two last provisions might be said to form the basis of all his operations.

Since ecclesiastics were not to be reached by the secular arm, and yet were often found fomenting troubles in the colonies, Gasca was permitted to banish from Peru such as he thought fit. He might even send home the viceroy, if the good of the country required it. Agreeably to his own suggestion, he was to receive no specified stipend; but he had unlimited orders on the treasuries both of Panamá and Peru. He was furnished with letters from the emperor to the principal authorities, not only in Peru, but in Mexico and the neighbouring colonies, requiring their countenance and support; and, lastly, blank letters, bearing the royal signature, were delivered to him, which he was to fill up at his pleasure.*

Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. vi.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. i. cap. vi.—MS. de Caravantes.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xvii. xviii.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind. cap. clxxiv.—Hist. de Don Pedro Gasca, MS.

While the grant of such unbounded powers excited the warmest sentiments of gratitude in Gasca towards the sovereign who could repose in him so much confidence, it seems—which is more extraordinary—not to have raised corresponding feelings of envy in the courtiers. They knew well that it was not for himself that the good ecclesiastic had solicited them. On the contrary, some of the council were desirous that he should be preferred to the bishopric, as already promised him, before his departure; conceiving that he would thus go with greater authority than as an humble ecclesiastic, and fearing, moreover, that Gasca himself, were it omitted, might feel some natural disappointment. But the president hastened to remove these impressions. "The honour would avail me little," he said, "where I am *going*; and it would be manifestly wrong to appoint me to an office in the Church, while I remain at such a distance that I cannot discharge the duties of it. The consciousness of my insufficiency," he continued, "should I never return, would lie heavy on my soul in my last moments."* The politic reluctance to accept the mitre has passed into a proverb. But there was no affectation here; and Gasca's friends, yielding to his arguments, forbore to urge the matter further.

The new president now went forward with his preparations. They were few and simple; for he was to be accompanied by a slender train of followers, among whom the most conspicuous was Alonso de Alvarado,

* "Especialmente, si alla muriesse ó le matassen: que entōces de nada le podria ser buena, sino para partir desta vida, con mas congoxa y pena de la poca cuenta que daua de la prouision que auia aceptado." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xviii.

the gallant officer who, as the reader may remember, long commanded under Francisco Pizarro. He had resided of late years at court; and now at Gasca's request accompanied him to Peru, where his presence might facilitate negotiations with the insurgents, while his military experience would prove no less valuable in case of an appeal to arms.* Some delay necessarily occurred in getting ready his little squadron, and it was not till the 26th of May, 1546, that the president and his suite embarked at San Lucar, for the New World.

After a prosperous voyage, and not a long one for that day, he landed, about the middle of July, at the port of Santa Martha. Here he received the astounding intelligence of the battle of Añaquito, of the defeat and death of the viceroy, and of the manner in which Gonzalo Pizarro had since established his absolute rule over the land. Although these events had occurred several months before Gasca's departure from Spain, yet, so imperfect was the intercourse, no tidings of them had then reached that country.

They now filled the president with great anxiety; as he reflected that the insurgents after so atrocious an act as the slaughter of the viceroy, might well despair of grace, and become reckless of consequences. He was careful, therefore, to have it understood, that the date of his commission was subsequent to that of the fatal battle, and that it authorized an entire amnesty of all offences hitherto commited against the government.†

* From this cavalier descended the noble house of the counts of Villamor in Spain. MS. de Caravantes.

† Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xxi.

Yet, in some points of view, the death of Blasco Nuñez might be regarded as an auspicious circumstance for the settlement of the country. Had he lived till Gasca's arrival, the latter would have been greatly embarrassed by the necessity of acting in concert with a person so generally detested in the colony, or by the unwelcome alternative of sending him back to Castile. The insurgents, moreover, would, in all probability, be now more amenable to reason, since all personal animosity might naturally be buried in the grave of their enemy.

The president was much embarrassed by deciding in what quarter he should attempt to enter Peru. Every port was in the hands of Pizarro, and was placed under the care of his officers, with strict charge to intercept any communications from Spain, and to detain such persons as bore a commission from that country until his pleasure could be known respecting them. Gasca, at length, decided on crossing over to Nombre de Dios, then held with a strong force by Hernan Mexia, an officer to whose charge Gonzalo had committed this strong gate to his dominions, as to a person on whose attachment to his cause he could confidently rely.

Had Gasca appeared off this place in a menacing attitude, with a military array, or, indeed, with any display of official pomp that might have awakened distrust in the commander, he would doubtless have found it no easy matter to effect a landing, But Mexia saw nothing to apprehend in the approach of a poor ecclesiastic, without an armed force, with hardly even a retinue to support him, coming solely, as it seemed, on an errand of mercy. No sooner,

therefore, was he acquainted with the character of the envoy and his mission, than he prepared to receive him with the honours due to his rank, and marched out at the head of his soldiers, together with a considerable body of ecclesiastics resident in the place. There was nothing in the person of Gasca, still less in his humble clerical attire and modest retinue, to impress the vulgar spectator with feelings of awe or reverence. Indeed, the poverty-stricken aspect, as it seemed, of himself and his followers, so different from the usual state affected by the Indian viceroys, excited some merriment among the rude soldiery, who did not scruple to break their coarse jests on his appearance, in hearing of the president himself.* "If this is the sort of governor his Majesty sends over to us," they exclaimed, "Pizarro need not trouble his head much about it."

Yet the president, ribaldry, or from shewing resentment to its authors, submitted to it with the utmost humility, and only seemed the more grateful to his own brethren, who, by their respectful demeanour, appeared anxious to do him honour.

But, however plain and unpretending the manners of Gasca, Mexia, on his first interview with him, soon discovered that he had no common man to deal with. The president, after briefly explaining the nature of his commission, told him that he had come as a messenger of peace; and that it was on peaceful

* "Especialmente muchos de los soldados, que estauan desacatados, y decian palabras feas, y desuergõçadas. A lo qual el Presidente (viendo que era necessario) hazia las orejas sordas." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

measures he relied for his success. He then stated the general scope of his commission, his authority to grant a free pardon to all, without exception, who at once submitted to government, and, finally, his purpose to proclaim the revocation of the ordinances. The objects of the revolution were thus attained. To contend longer would be manifest rebellion, and that without a motive; and he urged the commander by every principle of loyalty and patriotism to support him in settling the distractions of the country, and bringing it back to its allegiance.

The candid and conciliatory language of the president, so different from the arrogance of Blasco Nuñez, and the austere demeanour of Vaca de Castro, made a sensible impression on Mexia. He admitted the force of Gasca's reasoning, and flattered himself that Gonzalo Pizarro would not be insensible to it. [redacted] of that leader, he was loyal in heart, and, like most of the party, had been led by accident, rather than by design, into rebellion; and now that so good an opportunity occurred to do it with safety, he was not unwilling to retrace his steps, and secure the royal favour by thus early returning to his allegiance. This he signified to the president, assuring him of his hearty coöperation in the good work of reform.*

This was an important step for Gasca. It was yet more important for him to secure the obedience of Hinojosa, the governor of Panamá, in the harbour of which city lay Pizarro's navy, consisting of two-and-

* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru.—Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro a Valdivia, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS. año 1546.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. vi.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. ii. cap. v.

twenty vessels. But it was not easy to approach this officer. He was a person of much higher character than was usually found among the reckless adventurers in the New World. He was attached to the interests of Pizarro, and the latter had requited him by placing him in command of his armada and of Panamá, the key to his territories on the Pacific.

The president first sent Mexia and Alonso de Alvarado to prepare the way for his own coming, by advising Hinojosa of the purport of his mission. He soon after followed, and was received by that commander with every show of outward respect. But while the latter listened with deference to the representations of Gasca, they failed to work the change in him which they had wrought in Mexia; and he concluded by asking the president to shew him his powers, and by inquiring whether they gave him authority to confirm Pizarro in his present post, to which he was entitled no less by his own services than by the general voice of the people.

This was an embarrassing question. Such a concession would have been altogether too humiliating to the Crown; but to have openly avowed this at the present juncture to so staunch an adherent of Pizarro might have precluded all further negotiation. The president evaded the question, therefore, by simply stating, that the time had not yet come for him to produce his powers, but that Hinojosa might be assured they were such as to secure an ample recompense to every loyal servant of his country.*

Hinojosa was not satisfied; and he immediately

* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xxv.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. vii.—MS. de Caravantes.

wrote to Pizarro, acquainting him with Gasca's arrival and with the object of his mission, at the same time plainly intimating his own conviction that the president had no authority to confirm him in the government. But before the departure of the ship, Gasca secured the services of a Dominican friar, who had taken his passage on board for one of the towns on the coast. This man he intrusted with manifestoes, setting forth the purport of his visit, and proclaiming the abolition of the ordinances, with a free pardon to all who returned to their obedience. He wrote, also, to the prelates and to the corporations of the different cities. The former he requested to coöperate with him in introducing a spirit of loyalty and subordination among the people, while he intimated to the towns his purpose to confer with them hereafter, in order to devise some effectual measures for the welfare of the country. These papers the Dominican engaged to distribute, himself, among the principal cities of the colony; and he faithfully kept his word, though, as it proved, at no little hazard of his life. The seeds thus scattered might many of them fall on barren ground. But the greater part, the president trusted, would take root in the hearts of the people; and he patiently waited for the harvest.

Meanwhile, though he failed to remove the scruples of Hinojosa, the courteous manners of Gasca, and his mild, persuasive discourse, had a visible effect on other individuals with whom he had daily intercourse. Several of these and among them some of the principal cavaliers in Panamá, as well as in the squadron, expressed their willingness to join the royal cause, and aid the president in maintaining it. Gasca profited by

their assistance to open a communication with the authorities of Guatemala and Mexico, whom he advised of his mission, while he admonished them to allow no intercourse to be carried on with the insurgents on the coast of Peru. He, at length, also prevailed on the governor of Panamá to furnish him with the means of entering into communication with Gonzalo Pizarro himself; and a ship was despatched to Lima, bearing a letter from Charles the Fifth, addressed to that chief, with an epistle also from Gasca.

The emperor's communication was couched in the most condescending and even conciliatory terms. Far from taxing Gonzalo with rebellion, his royal master affected to regard his conduct as in a manner imposed on him by circumstances, especially by the obduracy of the viceroy Nuñez in denying the colonists the inalienable right of petition. He gave no intimation of an intent to confirm Pizarro in the government, or, indeed, to remove him from it; but simply referred him to Gasca as one who would acquaint him with the royal pleasure, and with whom he was to coöperate in restoring tranquillity to the country.

Gasca's own letter was pitched on the same politic key. He remarked, however, that the exigencies which had hitherto determined Gonzalo's line of conduct existed no longer. All that had been asked was conceded. There was nothing now to contend for; and it only remained for Pizarro and his followers to shew their loyalty and the sincerity of their principles by obedience to the Crown. Hitherto, the president said, Pizarro had been in arms against the viceroy; and the people had supported him as against a common enemy. If he prolonged the contest, that enemy

must be his sovereign. In such a struggle, the people would be sure to desert him; and Gasca conjured him, by his honour as a cavalier, and his duty as a loyal vassal, to respect the royal authority, and not rashly provoke a contest which must prove to the world that his conduct hitherto had been dictated less by patriotic motives than by selfish ambition.

This letter, which was conveyed in language the most courteous and complimentary to the subject of it, was of great length. It was accompanied by another much more concise, to Cepeda, the intriguing lawyer, who, as Gasca knew, had the greatest influence over Pizarro, in the absence of Carbajal, then employed in reaping the silver harvest from the newly discovered mines of Potosí.* In this epistle, Gasca affected to defer to the cunning politician as a member of the Royal Audience, and he conferred with him on the best manner of supplying a vacancy in that body.

These several despatches were committed to a cavalier, named Paniagua, a faithful adherent of the president, and one of those who had accompanied him from Castile. To this same emissary he also gave manifestoes and letters, like those intrusted to the Dominican, with orders secretly to distribute them in Lima, before he quitted that capital.†

Weeks and months rolled away, while the president

* "El Licenciado Cepeda que tengo yo agora por teniente, de quien yo hago mucho caso i le quiero mucho." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro a Valdivia, MS.

† The letters noticed in the text may be found in Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. vii. and Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xxix.—xxx. The president's letter covers several pages. Much of it is taken up with historic precedents and illustrations, to shew the folly, as well as wickedness, of a collision with the imperial authority. The benignant tone of this homily

still remained at Panamá, where, indeed, as his communications were jealously cut off with Peru, he might be said to be detained as a sort of prisoner of state. Meanwhile, both he and Hinojosa were looking with anxiety for the arrival of some messenger from Pizarro, who should indicate the manner in which the president's mission was to be received by that chief. The governor of Panamá was not blind to the perilous position in which he was himself placed, nor to the madness of provoking a contest with the Court of Castile. But he had a reluctance — not too often shared by the cavaliers of Peru — to abandon the fortunes of the commander who had reposed in him so great confidence. Yet he trusted that this commander would embrace the opportunity now offered, of placing himself and the country in a state of permanent security.

Several of the cavaliers who had given in their adhesion to Gasca, displeased by this obstinacy, as they termed it, of Hinojosa, proposed to seize his person and then get possession of the armada. But the president at once rejected this offer. His mission, he said, was one of peace, and he would not stain it at the outset by an act of violence. He even respected the scruples of Hinojosa; and a cavalier of so honourable a nature, he conceived, if once he could be gained by fair means, would be much more likely to be true to his interests, than if overcome either by force or

may be inferred from its concluding sentence: "Nuestro señor por su infinita bõdad alumbre a vuestra merced, y a todos los demas para que acierten a hazer en este negocio lo que cõuiene a sus almas, honras, vidas y haziendas: y guarde en su sancto servicio la Illustre persona de vuestra merced."

fraud. Gasca thought he might safely abide his time. There was policy, as well as honesty, in this; indeed, they always go together.

Meantime, persons were occasionally arriving from Lima and the neighbouring places, who gave accounts of Pizarro, varying according to the character and situation of the parties. Some represented him as winning all hearts by his open temper and the politic profusion with which, though covetous of wealth, he distributed *repartimientos* and favours among his followers. Others spoke of him as carrying matters with a high hand, while the greatest timidity and distrust prevailed among the citizens of Lima. All agreed that his power rested on too secure a basis to be shaken; and that, if the president should go to Lima, he must either consent to become Pizarro's instrument and confirm him in the government, or forfeit his own life.*

It was undoubtedly true, that Gonzalo, while he gave attention, as his friends say, to the public business, found time for free indulgence in those pleasures which wait on the soldier of fortune in his hour of triumph. He was the object of flattery and homage; courted even by those who hated him. For such as did not love the successful chieftain had good cause to fear him; and his exploits were commemorated in *romances* or ballads, as rivalling—it was not far from truth—those of the most doughty paladins of chivalry.†

* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xxvii.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. ii. cap. vii.—MS. de Caravantes.

† "Y con esto, estaua siempre en fiestas y recozijo, holgandose mucho que le diessen musicas, cantando romances, y coplas, de todo lo que auia hecho: encaresciendo sus hazañas, y victorias. En lo qual mucho se deleytaua como hombre de gruesso entēdimiento." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xxxii.

Amidst this burst of adulation, the cup of joy commended to Pizarro's lips had one drop of bitterness in it that gave its flavour to all the rest; for, notwithstanding his show of confidence, he looked with unceasing anxiety to the arrival of tidings that might assure him in what light his conduct was regarded by the government at home. This was proved by his jealous precautions to guard the approaches to the coast, and to detain the persons of the royal emissaries. He learned, therefore, with no little uneasiness, from Hinojosa, the landing of President Gasca, and the purport of his mission. But his discontent was mitigated, when he understood that the new envoy had come without military array, without any of the ostentatious trappings of office to impose on the minds of the vulgar, but alone, as it were, in the plain garb of an humble missionary.* Pizarro could not discern, that under this modest exterior lay a moral power, stronger than his own steel-clad battalions, which, operating silently on public opinion,—the more sure that it was silent,—was even now undermining his strength, like a subterraneous channel eating away the foundations of some stately edifice, that stands secure in its pride of place!

But, although Gonzalo Pizarro could not foresee this result, he saw enough to satisfy him that it would be safest to exclude the president from Peru. The

* Gonzalo, in his letter to Valdivia, speaks of Gasca as a clergyman of a godly reputation, who, without recompense, in the true spirit of a missionary, had come over to settle the affairs of the country. "Dicen ques mui buen christiano i hombre de buena vida i clerigo, i dicen que viene a estas partes con buena intencion i no quiso salario ninguno del Rey sino venir para poner paz en estos reynos con sus cristiandades." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro a Valdivia, MS.

tidings of his arrival, moreover, quickened his former purpose of sending an embassy to Spain to vindicate his late proceedings, and request the royal confirmation of his authority. The person placed at the head of this mission was Lorenzo de Aldana, a cavalier of discretion as well as courage, and high in the confidence of Pizarro, as one of his most devoted partisans. He had occupied some important posts under that chief, one secret of whose successes was the sagacity he shewed in the selection of his agents.

Besides Aldana and one or two cavaliers, the bishop of Lima was joined in the commission, as likely, from his position, to have a favourable influence on Gonzalo's fortunes at court. Together with the despatches for the government, the envoys were intrusted with a letter to Gasca from the inhabitants of Lima; in which, after civilly congratulating the president on his arrival, they announced their regret that he had come too late. The troubles of the country were now settled by the overthrow of the viceroy, and the nation was reposing in quiet under the rule of Pizarro. An embassy, they stated, was on its way to Castile, *not to solicit pardon*, for they had committed no crime,* but to petition the emperor to confirm their leader in the government, as the man in Peru best entitled to it by his virtues.† They expressed the conviction that Gasca's presence would only serve to renew the dis-

* "Porque perdō ninguno de nosotros le pide, porque no entendemos que amos errado, sino seruido á su Magestad: conseruādo nuestro derecho; que por sus leyes raeles á sus vasallos es permitido." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xxxiii.

† "Porque el por sus virtudes es muy amado de todos: y tenido por padre del Perú." Ibid., ubi supra.

tractions of the country, and they darkly intimated that his attempt to land would probably cost him his life.—The language of this singular document was more respectful than might be inferred from its import. It was dated the 14th of October, 1546, and was subscribed by seventy of the principal cavaliers in the city. It was not improbably dictated by Çepeda, whose hand is visible in most of the intrigues of Pizarro's little court. It is also said,—the authority is somewhat questionable,—that Aldana received instructions from Gonzalo secretly to offer a bribe of fifty thousand *pesos de oro* to the president, to prevail on him to return to Castile; and in case of his refusal, some darker and more effectual way was to be devised to rid the country of his presence.*

Aldana, fortified with his despatches, sped swiftly on his voyage to Panamá. Through him the governor learned the actual state of feeling in the councils of Pizarro; and he listened with regret to the envoy's conviction, that no terms would be admitted by that

* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. ii. cap. x.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. viii.—Gomara, Hist. de las Ind. cap. clxxvii.—Montesinos, Annales, MS. año 1546.

Pizarro, in his letter to Valdivia, notices this remonstrance to Gasca, who, with all his *reputation as a saint, was as deep as any man in Spain*, and had now come to send him home, as a reward, no doubt, of his faithful services. "But I and the rest of the cavaliers," he concludes, "have warned him not to set foot here." "Y agora que yo tenia puesta esta tierra en sosiego embiava su parte al de la Gasca, que aunque arriba digo que dicen ques un santo, es un hombre mas mañoso que havia en toda España é mas sabio; é asi venia por presidente é governador, é todo quanto el quiera: é para poderme embiar á mi á España, i á cabo de dos años que andavamos fuera de nuestras casas queria el Rey darme este pago, mas yo con todos los cavalleros deste reyno le embiavamos á dacir que se vaya, sino que harémos con él como con Blasco Nuñez." Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro a Valdivia, MS.

chief or his companions, that did not confirm him in the possession of Peru.*

Aldana was soon admitted to an audience by the president. It was attended with very different results from what had followed from the conferences with Hinojosa; for Pizarro's envoy was not armed by nature with that stubborn panoply which had hitherto made the other proof against all argument. He now learned with surprise the nature of Gasca's powers, and the extent of the royal concessions to the insurgents. He had embarked with Gonzalo Pizarro on a desperate venture, and he found that it had proved successful. The colony had nothing more, in reason, to demand; and, though devoted in heart to his leader, he did not feel bound by any principle of honour to take part with him, solely to gratify his ambition, in a wild contest with the Crown that must end in inevitable ruin. He consequently abandoned his mission to Castile, probably never very palatable to him, and announced his purpose to accept the pardon proffered by government, and support the president in settling the affairs of Peru. He subsequently wrote, it should be added, to his former commander in Lima, stating the course he had taken, and earnestly recommending the latter to follow his example.

The influence of this precedent in so important a person as Aldana, aided, doubtless, by the conviction

* With Aldana's mission to Castile Gonzalo Pizarro closes the important letter, so often cited in these pages, and which may be supposed to furnish the best arguments for his own conduct. It is a curious fact, that Valdivia, the conqueror of Chili, to whom the epistle is addressed, soon after this openly espoused the cause of Gasca, and his troops formed part of the forces who contended with Pizarro, not long afterwards, at Huarina. Such was the friend on whom Gonzalo relied!

that no change was now to be expected in Pizarro, while delay would be fatal to himself, at length prevailed over Hinojosa's scruples, and he intimated to Gasca his willingness to place the fleet under his command. The act was performed with great pomp and ceremony. Some of Pizarro's staunchest partisans were previously removed from the vessels; and on the 19th of November, 1546, Hinojosa and his captains resigned their commissions into the hands of the president. They next took the oaths of allegiance to Castile; a free pardon for all past offences was proclaimed by the herald from the scaffold erected in the great square of the city; and the president, greeting them as true and loyal vassals of the Crown, restored their several commissions to the cavaliers. The royal standard of Spain was then unfurled on board the squadron, and proclaimed that this strong-hold of Pizarro's power had passed away from him for ever.*

The return of their commissions to the insurgent captains was a politic act in Gasca. It secured the services of the ablest officers in the country, and turned against Pizarro the very arm on which he had most leaned for support. Thus was this great step achieved, without force or fraud, by Gasca's patience and judicious forecast. He was content to bide his time; and he now might rely with well-grounded confidence on the ultimate success of his mission.

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq. MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. ix.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xxxviii.—xlii.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxviii.—MS. de Caravantes.

Garcilasso de la Vega,—whose partiality for Gonzalo Pizarro forms a wholesome counterpoise to the unfavourable views taken of his conduct by most other writers,—in his notice of this transaction, seems disposed to allow little credit to that loyalty which is shewn by the sacrifice of a benefactor. Com. Real. parte ii. lib. v. cap. iv.

CHAPTER II.

Gasca assembles his Forces.—Defection of Pizarro's Followers.—He musters his Levies.—Agitation in Lima.—He abandons the City.—Gasca sails from Panamá.—Bloody Battle of Huarina.

1547.

No sooner was Gasca placed in possession of Panamá and the fleet, than he entered on a more decisive course of policy than he had been hitherto allowed to pursue. He raised levies of men, and drew together supplies from all quarters. He took care to discharge the arrears already due to the soldiers, and promised liberal pay for the future; for, though mindful that his personal charges should cost little to the crown, he did not stint his expenditure when the public good required it. As the funds in the treasury were exhausted, he obtained loans on the credit of the government from the wealthy citizens of Panamá, who, relying on his good faith, readily made the necessary advances. He next sent letters to the authorities of Guatemala and Mexico, requiring their assistance in carrying on hostilities, if necessary, against the insurgents; and he despatched a summons, in like manner, to Benalcazar, in the provinces north of Peru, to meet him on his landing in that country with his whole available force.

The greatest enthusiasm was shewn by the people of Panamá in getting the little navy in order for his

intended voyage; and prelates and commanders did not disdain to prove their loyalty by taking part in the good work along with the soldiers and sailors.* Before his own departure, however, Gasca proposed to send a small squadron of four ships under Aldana, to cruise off the port of Lima, with instructions to give protection to those well affected to the royal cause, and receive them, if need be, on board his vessels. He was also intrusted with authenticated copies of the president's commission, to be delivered to Gonzalo Pizarro, that the chief might feel there was yet time to return before the gates of mercy were closed against him.†

While these events were going on, Gasca's proclamations and letters were doing their work in Peru. It required but little sagacity to perceive that the nation at large, secured in the protection of person and property, had nothing to gain by revolution. Interest and duty, fortunately, now lay on the same side; and the ancient sentiment of loyalty, smothered for a time, but not extinguished, revived in the breasts of the people. Still this was not manifested at once by any overt act; for, under a strong military rule, men dared hardly think for themselves, much less communicate their thoughts to one another. But changes of public opinion, like changes in the atmosphere, that come on slowly and imperceptibly, make themselves more and

* "Y ponia sus fuerças con tanta llaneza y obediencia, que los obispos y clerigos y los capitanes y mas principales personas eran los que primero echauan mano, y tirauan de las gumenas y cables de los nauios, para los sacar á la costa." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxx.

† Ibid., ubi supra.— Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1546.— Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxxviii.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. ix.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. iii. cap. iii.

more widely felt, till, by a sort of silent sympathy, they spread to the remotest corners of the land. Some intimations of such a change of sentiment at length found their way to Lima, although all accounts of the president's mission had been jealously excluded from that capital. Gonzalo Pizarro himself became sensible of these symptoms of disaffection, though almost too faint and feeble, as yet, for the most experienced eye to descry in them the coming tempest.

Several of the president's proclamations had been forwarded to Gonzalo by his faithful partisans; and Carbajal, who had been summoned from Potosí, declared they were "more to be dreaded than the lances of Castile."* Yet Pizarro did not, for a moment, lose his confidence in his own strength; and with a navy like that now in Panamá at his command, he felt he might bid defiance to any enemy on his coasts. He had implicit confidence in the fidelity of Hinojosa.

It was at this period that Paniagua arrived off the port with Gasca's despatches to Pizarro, consisting of the emperor's letter and his own. They were instantly submitted by that chieftain to his trusty counsellors, Carbajal and Cepeda, and their opinions asked as to the course to be pursued. It was the crisis of Pizarro's fate.

Carbajal, whose sagacious eye fully comprehended the position in which they stood, was in favour of accepting the royal grace on the terms proposed; and he intimated his sense of their importance by declaring, that, "he would pave the way for the bearer of them into the capital with ingots of gold and silver."†

* "Que eran mas de temer aquellas cartas que a las lãças del Rey de Castilla." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xlv.

† "Y le enladrillen los cami-

Cepeda was of a different way of thinking. He was a judge of the Royal Audience; and had been sent to Peru as the immediate counsellor of Blasco Nuñez. But he had turned against the viceroy, had encountered him in battle, and his garments might be said to be yet wet with his blood! What grace was there, then, for him? Whatever respect might be shewn to the letter of the royal provisions, in point of fact, he must ever live under the Castilian rule a ruined man.' He accordingly strongly urged the rejection of Gasca's offers. "They will cost you your government," he said to Pizarro; "the smooth-tongued priest is not so simple a person as you take him to be. He is deep and politic.* He knows well what promises to make; and, once master of the country, he will know too, how to keep them."

Carbajal was not shaken by the arguments or the sneers of his companions; and as the discussion waxed warm, Cepeda taxed his opponent with giving counsel suggested by fears for his own safety,—a foolish taunt, sufficiently disproved by the whole life of the doughty old warrior. Carbajal did not insist further on his own views, however, as he found them unwelcome to Pizarro, and contented himself with coolly remarking, that "he had, indeed, no relish for rebellion; but he had as long a neck for a halter, he believed, as any of his companions; and, as he could hardly expect to live much longer, at any rate, it was, after all, of little moment to him."†

nos por do viniere con barras de plata, y tejos de oro." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. v.

* "Que no lo embiauan por hombre sencillo y llano, sino de grandes cautelas, astucias, falsedades y engaños." Ibid., loc. cit.

† "Por lo demas, quãdo acaezca otra cosa, ya yo he viuido

Pizarro, spurred on by a fiery ambition that overleaped every obstacle,* did not condescend to count the desperate chances of a contest with the Crown. He threw his own weight into the scale with Cepeda. The offer of grace was rejected; and he thus cast away the last tie which held him to his country, and, by the act, proclaimed himself a rebel.†

It was not long after the departure of Paniagua, that Pizarro received tidings of the defection of Aldana and Hinojosa, and of the surrender of the fleet, on which he had expended an immense sum, as the chief bulwark of his power. This unwelcome intelligence was followed by accounts of the further defection of some of the principal towns in the north, and of the assassination of Puelles, the faithful lieutenant to whom he had confided the government of Quito. It was not very long, also, before he found his authority assailed in the opposite quarter at Cuzco; for Centeno, the loyal chieftain who, as the reader may remember, had been driven by Carbajal to take refuge in a cave near Arequipa, had issued from his concealment after

muchos años, y tengo tan buẽ palmo de pescueço para le soga, como cada uno de vuesas mercedes." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. v.

* "Loca y luciferina soberuia," as Fernandez characterizes the aspiring temper of Gonzalo. Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xv.

† MS. de Caravantes.

According to Garcilasso, Paniagua was furnished with secret instructions by the president, empowering him, in case he judged it necessary to the preservation of the royal authority, to confirm Pizarro in the government, "it being little matter if the Devil ruled there, provided the country remained to the Crown!" The fact was so reported by Paniagua, who continued in Peru after these events. (Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. v.) This is possible. But it is more probable that a credulous gossip, like Garcilasso, should be in error, than that Charles the Fifth should have been prepared to make such an acknowledgment of his imbecility, or that the man selected for Gasca's confidence should have so indiscreetly betrayed his trust.

remaining there a year, and, on learning the arrival of Gasca, had again raised the royal standard. Then collecting a small body of followers, and falling on Cuzco by night, he made himself master of that capital, defeated the garrison who held it, and secured it for the Crown. Marching soon after into the province of Charcas, the bold chief allied himself with the officer who commanded for Pizarro in La Plata; and their combined forces, to the number of a thousand, took up a position on the borders of Lake Titicaca, where the two cavaliers coolly waited an opportunity to take the field against their ancient commander.

Gonzalo Pizarro, touched to the heart by the desertion of those in whom he most confided, was stunned by the dismal tidings of his losses coming so thick upon him. Yet he did not waste his time in idle crimination or complaint, but immediately set about making preparations to meet the storm with all his characteristic energy. He wrote at once to such of his captains as he believed still faithful, commanding them to be ready with their troops to march to his assistance at the shortest notice. He reminded them of their obligations to him, and that their interests were identical with his own. The president's commission, he added, had been made out before the news had reached Spain, of the battle of Añaquito, and could never cover a pardon to those concerned in the death of the viceroy.*

Pizarro was equally active in enforcing his levies in the capital, and in putting them in the best fighting

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. xi. xiii.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xlv. lix.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547.

order. He soon saw himself at the head of a thousand men, beautifully equipped, and complete in all their appointments; "as gallant an array," says an old writer, "though so small in number, as ever trod the plains of Italy," displaying in the excellence of their arms, their gorgeous uniforms, and the caparisons of their horses, a magnificence that could be furnished only by the silver of Peru.* Each company was provided with a new stand of colours, emblazoned with its peculiar device. Some bore the initials and arms of Pizarro, and one or two of these were audaciously surmounted by a crown, as if to intimate the rank to which their commander might aspire.†

Among the leaders most conspicuous on this occasion was Cepeda, "who," in the words of a writer of his time, "had exchanged the robe of the licentiate for the plumed casque and mailed harness of the warrior."‡ But the cavalier to whom Pizarro confided the chief care of organizing his battalions was the

* "Mil hombres tan bien armados i adereçados, como se han visto en Italia, en la maior prosperidad, porque ninguno havia demas de las armas, que no llevase calças, i jubon de seda, i muchos de tela de oro, i de broçado, i otros bordados, i recamados de oro i plata, con mucha chaperia de oro por los sombreros, i especialmente por frascos i caxas de arcubuces." Zarate, Conq. del Perú, lib. vi. cap. xi.

† Ibid., ubi supra.

Some writers even assert that Pizarro was preparing for his coronation at this time, and that he had actually despatched his summons to the different towns to send their deputies to assist at it. "Queria apresurar su coronacion, y para ello despachó cartas á todas las ciudades del Perú." (Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547.) But it is hardly probable he could have placed so blind a confidence in the colonists at this crisis, as to have meditated so rash a step. The loyal Castilian historians are not slow to receive reports to the discredit of the *rebel*.

‡ "El qual en este tiempo, oluidado de lo que conuenia á sus letras, y profession, y officio de oydor; salio en calças jubon, y cuera, de muchos recamados, y gorra con plumas." Fernandez, Hist. del. Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxii.

veteran Carbajal, who had studied the art of war under the best captains in Europe, and whose life of adventure had been a practical commentary on their early lessons. It was on his arm that Gonzalo most leaned in the hour of danger; and well had it been for him, if he had profited by his counsels at an earlier period.

It gives one some idea of the luxurious accommodations of Pizarro's forces, that he endeavoured to provide each of his musketeers with a horse. The expenses incurred by him were enormous. The immediate cost of his preparations, we are told, was not less than half a million of *pesos de oro;* and his pay to the cavaliers, and, indeed, to the common soldiers, in his little army, was on an extravagant scale, nowhere to be met with but on the silver soil of Peru.*

When his own funds were exhausted, he supplied the deficiency by fines imposed on the rich citizens of Lima as the price of exemption from service, by forced loans, and various other schemes of military exaction.† From this time, it is said, the chieftain's temper underwent a visible change.‡ He became more violent in his passions, more impatient of control, and indulged more freely in acts of cruelty and license. The desperate cause in which he was involved made him reckless of consequences. Though naturally frank and confiding, the frequent defection of his followers filled him with suspicion. He knew not in whom to confide. Every one who shewed

* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, ubi supra.— Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. xi.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. iii. cap. v. —Montesinos, Annales, año 1547.

† Fernandez, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxii.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547.

‡ Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxxii.

himself indifferent to his cause, or was suspected of being so, was dealt with as an open enemy. The greatest distrust prevailed in Lima. No man dared confide in his neighbour. Some concealed their effects; others contrived to elude the vigilance of the sentinels, and hid themselves in the neighbouring woods and mountains.* No one was allowed to enter or leave the city without a license. All commerce, all intercourse, with other places was cut off. It was long since the fifths belonging to the Crown had been remitted to Castile, as Pizarro had appropriated them to his own use. He now took possession of the mints, broke up the royal stamps, and issued a debased coin, emblazoned with his own cipher.† It was the most decisive act of sovereignty.

At this gloomy period, the lawyer Cepeda contrived a solemn farce, the intent of which was to give a sort of legal sanction to the rebel cause in the eyes of the populace. He caused a process to be prepared against Gasca, Hinojosa, and Aldana, in which they were accused of treason against the existing government of Peru, were convicted, and condemned to death. This instrument he submitted to a number of jurists in the capital, requiring their signatures. But they had

* "Andaba la gente tan asombrada con el temor de la muerte, que nó se podian entender, ni tenian animo para huir; i algunos, que hallaron mejor aparejo, se escondieron por los cañaverales i cuevas, enterrando sus haciendas." Zarate, Conq. del. Peru, lib. vi. cap. xv.

† Rel. Anonima, MS.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547. "Assi mismo echó Gōzalo Piçarro á toda la plata, que gastaua y destribuya su marca, que era una G. rebuelta en una P.; y pregonó que so pena de muerte todos recibiessen por plata fina la que tuuiesse aquella marca, sin ensayo ni otra diligencia alguna. Y desta suerte hizo passar mucha plata de ley baja por fina." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxii.

no mind thus inevitably to implicate themselves, by affixing their names to such a paper; and they evaded it by representing, that it would only serve to cut off all chance, should any of the accused be so disposed, of their again embracing the cause they had deserted. Cepeda was the only man who signed the document. Carbajal treated the whole thing with ridicule. "What is the object of your process?" said he to Cepeda. "Its object," replied the latter, "is to prevent delay, that, if taken at any time, the guilty party may be at once led to execution."—"I cry you mercy," retorted Carbajal; "I thought there must be some virtue in the instrument that would have killed them outright. Let but one of these same traitors fall into my hands, and I will march him off to execution, without waiting for the sentence of a court, I promise you!"*

While this paper war was going on, news was brought that Aldana's squadron was off the port of Callao. That commander had sailed from Panamá, the middle of February, 1547. On his passage down the coast he had landed at Truxillo, where the citizens welcomed him with enthusiasm, and eagerly proclaimed their submission to the royal authority. He received, at the same time, messages from several of Pizarro's officers in the interior, intimating their return to their duty and their readiness to support the president. Aldana named Caxa-

* "Riose mucho entonces Caruajal y dixo, que segũ auia hecho la instancia que auia entendido, que la justicia como rayo auia de yr luego á justiciarlos. Y dezia que si el los tuuiesse presos, no se le daria vn clauo por su sentẽcia ni firmas." (Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lv.) Among the jurists in Lima who thus independently resisted Cepeda's requisition to sign the paper was the Licentiate Polo Ondegardo, a man of much discretion, and one of the best authorities for the ancient institutions of the Incas.

malca as a place of rendezvous, where they should concentrate their forces, and wait the landing of Gasca. He then continued his voyage towards Lima.

No sooner was Pizarro informed of his approach, than, fearful lest it might have a disastrous effect in seducing his followers from their fidelity, he marched them about a league out of the city, and there encamped. He was two leagues from the coast, and he posted a guard on the shore, to intercept all communication with the vessels. Before leaving the capital, Cepeda resorted to an expedient for securing the inhabitants more firmly, as he conceived, in Pizarro's interests. He caused the citizens to be assembled, and made them a studied harangue, in which he expatiated on the services of their governor, and the security which the country had enjoyed under his rule. He then told them that every man was at liberty to choose for himself—to remain under the protection of their present ruler, or, if they preferred, to transfer their allegiance to his enemy. He invited them to speak their minds, but required every one who would still continue under Pizarro to take an oath of fidelity to his cause, with the assurance, that, if any should be so false hereafter as to violate this pledge, he should pay for it with his life.* There was no one found bold enough—with his head thus in the lion's mouth—to swerve from his obedience to Pizarro; and every man took the oath prescribed, which was administered in the most solemn and imposing form by the licentiate. Carbajal, as usual, made a jest of the whole

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxi.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. xi. xiv.

proceeding. "How long," he asked his companion, "do you think these same oaths will stand? The first wind that blows off the coast after we are gone will scatter them in air!" His prediction was soon verified.

Meantime Aldana anchored off the port, where there was no vessel of the insurgents to molest him. By Cepeda's advice, some four or five had been burnt a short time before, during the absence of Carbajal, in order to cut off all means by which the inhabitants could leave the place. This was deeply deplored by the veteran soldier on his return. "It was destroying," he said, "the guardian angels of Lima."* And certainly, under such a commander, they might now have stood Pizarro in good stead; but his star was on the wane.

The first act of Aldana was to cause the copy of Gasca's powers, with which he had been intrusted, to be conveyed to his ancient commander, by whom it was indignantly torn in pieces. Aldana next contrived, by means of his agents, to circulate among the citizens, and even the soldiers of the camp, the president's manifestoes. They were not long in producing their effect. Few had been at all aware of the real purport of Gasca's mission, of the extent of his powers, or of the generous terms offered by government. They shrunk from the desperate course into which they had been thus unwarily seduced, and they sought only in what way they could, with least danger, extricate themselves from their present position, and return to their allegiance. Some escaped by night

* "Entre otras cosas dixo á Gonçalo Piçarro 'Vuesa Señoria mandó quemar cinco angeles que tenia en su puerto para guarda y defensa de la costa del Peru.'" Garcilasso, parte ii. lib. v. cap. vi.

from the camp, eluded the vigilance of the sentinels, and effected their retreat on board the vessels. Some were taken, and found no quarter at the hands of Carbajal and his merciless ministers. But, where the spirit of disaffection was abroad, means of escape were not wanting.

As the fugitives were cut off from Lima and the neighbouring coast, they secreted themselves in the forests and mountains, and watched their opportunity for making their way to Truxillo and other ports at a distance; and so contagious was the example, that it not unfrequently happened that the very soldiers sent in pursuit of the deserters joined with them. Among those that fled was the Licentiate Carbajal, who must not be confounded with his military namesake. He was the same cavalier whose brother had been put to death in Lima by Blasco Nuñez, and who revenged himself, as we have seen, by imbruing his own hands in the blood of the viceroy. That a person thus implicated should trust to the royal pardon, shewed that no one need despair of it; and the example proved most disastrous to Pizarro.*

Carbajal, who made a jest of every thing, even of the misfortunes which pinched him the sharpest, when told of the desertion of his comrades, amused himself by humming the words of a popular ditty:—

"The wind blows the hairs off my head, mother;
Two at a time, it blows them away!" †

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.— Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxxx.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxiii. lxv. — Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vi. cap. xv. xvi.

† "Estos mis cabellicos, madre;
Dos á dos me los lleva el aire."

Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., cap. clxxx.

But the defection of his followers made a deeper impression on Pizarro, and he was sorely distressed as he beheld the gallant array, to which he had so confidently looked for gaining his battles, thus melting away like a morning mist. Bewildered by the treachery of those in whom he had most trusted, he knew not where to turn, nor what course to take. It was evident that he must leave his present dangerous quarters without loss of time. But whither should he direct his steps? In the north the great towns had abandoned his cause, and the president was already marching against him; while Centeno held the passes of the south, with a force double his own. In this emergency, he at length resolved to occupy Arequipa, a sea-port still true to him, where he might remain till he had decided on some future course of operations.

After a painful but rapid march, Gonzalo arrived at this place, where he was speedily joined by a reinforcement that he had detached for the recovery of Cuzco. But so frequent had been the desertions from both companies,—though in Pizarro's corps these had greatly lessened since the departure from the neighbourhood of Lima,—that his whole number did not exceed five hundred men, less than half of the force which he had so recently mustered in the capital. To such humble circumstances was the man now reduced, who had so lately lorded it over the land with unlimited sway! Still the chief did not despond. He had gathered new spirit from the excitement of his march and his distance from Lima; and he seemed to recover his former confidence, as he exclaimed, "It is misfortune that teaches us who are

our friends. If but ten only remain true to me, fear not but I will again be master of Peru!" *

No sooner had the rebel forces withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Lima, than the inhabitants of that city, little troubled, as Carbajal had predicted, by their compulsory oaths of allegiance to Pizarro, threw open their gates to Aldana, who took possession of this important place in the name of the president. That commander, meanwhile, had sailed with his whole fleet from Panamá, on the 10th of April, 1547. The first part of his voyage was prosperous; but he was soon perplexed by contrary currents, and the weather became rough and tempestuous. The violence of the storm continuing day after day, the sea was lashed into fury, and the fleet was tossed about on the billows, which ran mountain high, as if emulating the wild character of the region they bounded. The rain descended in torrents, and the lightning was so incessant, that the vessels, to quote the lively language of the chronicler, "seemed to be driving through seas of flame!" † The hearts of the stoutest mariners were filled with dismay. They considered it hopeless to struggle against the elements, and they loudly demanded to return to the continent, and postpone the voyage till a more favourable season of the year.

* "Aunque siempre dijo, que con diez amigos que le quedasen, havia de conservarse i conquistar de nuevo el Perú: tanta era su saña ó su sobervia." Gomara, Hist. de las Ind., loc. cit.

† "Y los truenos y relāpagos eran tantos y tales, que siempre parecia que estauan en llamas, y que sobre ellos venian rayos (que en todas aquellas partes caen muchos)." (Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxi.) The vivid colouring of the old chronicler shews that he had himself been familiar with these tropical tempests on the Pacific.

But the president saw in this the ruin of his cause, as well as of the loyal vassals who had engaged, on his landing, to support it. "I am willing to die," he said, "but not to return;" and, regardless of the remonstrances of his more timid followers, he insisted on carrying as much sail as the ships could possibly bear, at every interval of the storm.* Meanwhile, to divert the minds of the seamen from their present danger, Gasca amused them by explaining some of the strange phenomena exhibited by the ocean in the tempest, which had filled their superstitious minds with mysterious dread.†

Signals had been given for the ships to make the best of their way, each for itself, to the island of Gorgona. Here they arrived, one after another, with but a single exception, though all more or less shattered by the weather. The president waited only for the fury of the elements to spend itself, when he again embarked, and, on smoother waters, crossed over to Manta. From this place he soon after continued his voyage to Tumbez, and landed at that port on the 13th of June. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm, and all seemed anxious to efface the remembrance of the past by professions of future fidelity to the Crown. Gasca received, also, nume-

* "Y con lo poco que en aquella sazon el presidente estimauala vida si no auia de hazer la jornada, y el gran desseo que tenia de hazerla, se puso cõtra ellos diziendo, que qual quiera que le tocasse abaxar vela, le costaria la vida." Fernandez, parte i. lib. ii. cap lxxi.

† The phosphoric lights, sometimes seen in a storm at sea, were observed to hover round the masts and rigging of the president's vessel; and he amused the seamen, according to Fernandez, by explaining the phenomenon, and telling the fables to which they had given rise in ancient mythology.—This little anecdote affords a key to Gasca's popularity with even the humblest classes.

rous letters of congratulation from cavaliers in the interior, most of whom had formerly taken service under Pizarro. He made courteous acknowledgments for their offers of assistance, and commanded them to repair to Caxamalca, the general place of rendezvous.

To this same spot he sent Hinojosa, so soon as that officer had disembarked with the land forces from the fleet, ordering him to take command of the levies assembled there, and then join him at Xauxa. Here he determined to establish his head-quarters. It lay in a rich and abundant territory, and by its central position afforded a point for acting with greatest advantage against the enemy.

He then moved forward, at the head of a small detachment of cavalry, along the level road on the coast towards Truxillo. After halting for a short time in that loyal city, he traversed the mountain range on the south-east, and soon entered the fruitful valley of Xauxa. There he was presently joined by reinforcements from the north, as well as from the principal places on the coast; and, not long after his arrival, received a message from Centeno, informing him that he held the passes by which Gonzalo Pizarro was preparing to make his escape from the country, and that the insurgent chief must soon fall into his hands.

The royal camp was greatly elated by these tidings. The war, then, was at length terminated, and that without the president having been called upon so much as to lift his sword against a Spaniard. Several of his counsellors now advised him to disband the greater part of his forces, as burdensome and no longer necessary. But the president was too wise to weaken

his strength before he had secured the victory. He consented, however, to countermand the requisition for levies from Mexico and the adjoining colonies, as now feeling sufficiently strong in the general loyalty of the country. But, concentrating his forces at Xauxa, he established his quarters in that town, as he had first intended, resolved to await there tidings of the operations in the south. The result was different from what he had expected.*

Pizarro, meanwhile, whom we left at Arequipa, had decided, after much deliberation, to evacuate Peru, and pass into Chili. In this territory, beyond the president's jurisdiction, he might find a safe retreat. The fickle people, he thought, would soon weary of their new ruler; and he would then rally in sufficient strength to resume active operations for the recovery of his domain. Such were the calculations of the rebel chieftain. But how was he to effect his object, while the passes among the mountains, where his route lay, were held by Centeno with a force more than double his own? He resolved to try negotiation; for that captain had once served under him, and had, indeed, been most active in persuading Pizarro to take on himself the office of procurator. Advancing, accordingly, in the direction of Lake Titicaca, in the

* For the preceding pages, see Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.— Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. i.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. iii. cap. xiv. et seq. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap lxxi. lxxvii.—MS. de Caravantes.

This last writer, who held an important post in the department of colonial finance, had opportunities of information which have enabled him to furnish several particulars not to be met with elsewhere, respecting the principal actors in these turbulent times. His work, still in manuscript, which formerly existed in the archives of the University of Salamanca, has been transferred to the King's library at Madrid.

neighbourhood of which Centeno had pitched his camp, Gonzalo despatched an emissary to his quarters to open a negotiation. He called to his adversary's recollection the friendly relations that had once subsisted between them; and reminded him of one occasion in particular, in which he had spared his life, when convicted of a conspiracy against himself. He harboured no sentiments of unkindness, he said, for Centeno's recent conduct, and had not now come to seek a quarrel with him. His purpose was to abandon Peru; and the only favour he had to request of his former associate was to leave him a free passage across the mountains.

To this communication Centeno made answer in terms as courtly as those of Pizarro himself, that he was not unmindful of their ancient friendship. He was now ready to serve his former commander in any way not inconsistent with honour, or obedience to his sovereign. But he was there in arms for the royal cause, and he could not swerve from his duty. If Pizarro would but rely on his faith, and surrender himself up, he pledged his knightly word to use all his interest with the government, to secure as favourable terms for him and his followers as had been granted to the rest of their countrymen.—Gonzalo listened to the smooth promises of his ancient comrade with bitter scorn depicted in his countenance, and, snatching the letter from his secretary, cast it away from him with indignation. There was nothing left but an appeal to arms.*

He at once broke up his encampment, and directed

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xvi.— Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii.

his march on the borders of Lake Titicaca, near which lay his rival. He resorted, however, to stratagem, that he might still, if possible, avoid an encounter. He sent forward his scouts in a different direction from that which he intended to take, and then quickened his march on Huarina. This was a small town situated on the south-eastern extremity of Lake Titicaca, the shores of which, the seat of the primitive civilization of the Incas, were soon to resound with the murderous strife of their more civilized conquerors!

But Pizarro's movements had been secretly communicated to Centeno, and that commander, accordingly changing his ground, took up a position not far from Huarina, on the same day on which Gonzalo reached this place. The videttes of the two camps came in sight of each other that evening; and the rival forces, lying on their arms, prepared for action on the following morning.

It was the 26th of October, 1547, when the two commanders, having formed their troops in order of battle, advanced to the encounter on the plains of Huarina. The ground, defended on one side by a bold spur of the Andes, and not far removed on the other from the waters of Titicaca, was an open and level plain, well suited to military manœuvres. It seemed as if prepared by Nature as the lists for an encounter.

Centeno's army amounted to about a thousand men. His cavalry consisted of near two hundred and fifty, well equipped and mounted. Among them were several gentlemen of family, some of whom had once followed the banners of Pizarro; the whole forming

an efficient corps, in which rode some of the best lances of Peru. His arquebusiers were less numerous, not exceeding a hundred and fifty, indifferently provided with ammunition. The remainder, and much the larger part of Centeno's army, consisted of spearmen, irregular levies hastily drawn together, and possessed of little discipline.*

This corps of infantry formed the centre of his line, flanked by the arquebusiers in two nearly equal divisions, while his cavalry were also disposed in two bodies on the right and left wings. Unfortunately, Centeno had been for the past week ill of a pleurisy,—so ill, indeed, that on the preceding day he had been bled several times. He was now too feeble to keep his saddle, but was carried in a litter, and when he had seen his men formed in order, he withdrew to a distance from the field, unable to take part in the action. But Solano, the militant bishop of Cuzco, who, with several of his followers, took part in the engagement,—a circumstance, indeed, of no strange occurrence,—rode along the ranks with the crucifix in his hand, bestowing his benediction on the soldiers, and exhorting each man to do his duty.

Pizarro's forces were less than half of his rival's, not amounting to more than four hundred and eighty men. The horse did not muster above eighty-five in all, and he posted them in a single body on the right of his battalion. The strength of his army lay in his arquebusiers, about three hundred and fifty in number. It was an admirable corps, commanded by

* In the estimate of Centeno's forces,—which ranges, in the different accounts, from seven hundred to twelve hundred,—I have taken the intermediate number of a thousand adopted by Zarate, as, on the whole, more probable than either extreme.

Carbajal, by whom it had been carefully drilled. Considering the excellence of its arms, and its thorough discipline, this little body of infantry might be considered as the flower of the Peruvian soldiery, and on it Pizarro mainly relied for the success of the day.* The remainder of his force, consisting of pikemen, not formidable for their numbers, though, like the rest of the infantry, under excellent discipline, he distributed on the left of his musketeers, so as to repel the enemy's horse.

Pizarro himself had charge of the cavalry, taking his place as usual, in the foremost rank. He was superbly accoutred. Over his shining mail he wore a sobre-vest of slashed velvet of a rich crimson colour; and he rode a high-mettled charger, whose gaudy caparisons, with the showy livery of his rider, made the fearless commander the most conspicuous object in the field.

His lieutenant, Carbajal, was equipped in a very different style. He wore armour of proof of the most homely appearance, but strong and serviceable; and his steel bonnet, with its closely barred visor of the same material, protected his head from more than one desperate blow on that day. Over his arms he wore a surcoat of a greenish colour; and he rode an active, strong-boned jennet, which, though capable of enduring fatigue, possessed neither grace nor beauty. It would not have been easy to distinguish the veteran from the most ordinary cavalier.

The two hosts arrived within six hundred paces of

* *Flor de la milicia del Peru*, says Garcilasso de la Vega, who compares Carbajal to an expert chess-player, disposing his pieces in such a manner as must infallibly secure him the victory. Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xviii.

each other, when they both halted. Carbajal preferred to receive the attack of the enemy, rather than advance further; for the ground he now occupied afforded a free range for his musketry, unobstructed by the trees or bushes that were sprinkled over some other parts of the field. There was a singular motive, in addition, for retaining his present position. The soldiers were encumbered, some with two, some with three, arquebuses each, being the arms left by those who from time to time had deserted the camp. This uncommon supply of muskets, however serious an impediment on a march, might afford great advantage to troops waiting an assault; since, from the imperfect knowledge as well as construction of fire-arms at that day, much time was wasted in loading them.*

Preferring, therefore, that the enemy should begin the attack, Carbajal came to a halt, while the opposite squadron, after a short respite, continued their advance a hundred paces farther. Seeing that they then remained immovable, Carbajal detached a small party of skirmishers to the front, in order to provoke them; but it was soon encountered by a similar party of the enemy, and some shots were exchanged, though with little damage to either side. Finding this manœuvre fail, the veteran ordered his men to advance a few paces, still hoping to provoke his antagonist to the charge. This succeeded. "We lose honour," exclaimed Centeno's soldiers; who, with a bastard sort

* Garcilasso, Com. Real., ubi supra.

The historian's father—of the same name with himself—was one of the few noble cavaliers who remained faithful to Gonzalo Pizarro in the wane of his fortunes. He was present at the battle of Huarina; and the particulars which he gave his son enabled the latter to supply many deficiencies in the reports of historians.

of chivalry, belonging to undisciplined troops, felt it a disgrace to await an assault. In vain their officers called out to them to remain at their post. Their commander was absent, and they were urged on by the cries of a frantic friar, named Domingo Ruiz, who believing the Philistines were delivered into their hands, called out,—"Now is the time! Onward, onward, fall on the enemy!" * There needed nothing further, and the men rushed forward in tumultuous haste, the pikemen carrying their levelled weapons so heedlessly as to interfere with one another, and in some instances to wound their comrades. The musketeers, at the same time, kept up a disorderly fire as they advanced, which from their rapid motion and the distance, did no execution.

Carbajal was well pleased to see his enemies thus wasting their ammunition. Though he allowed a few muskets to be discharged, in order to stimulate his opponents the more, he commanded the great body of his infantry to reserve their fire till every shot could take effect. As he knew the tendency of marksmen to shoot above the mark, he directed his men to aim at the girdle, or even a little below it; adding, that a shot that fell short might still do damage, while one that passed a hair's breadth above the head was wasted.†

The veteran's company stood calm and unmoved, as Centeno's rapidly advanced; but when the latter had arrived within a hundred paces of their antagonists, Carbajal gave the word to fire. An instantaneous

* "A las manos, á las manos: á ellos, á ellos." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxix.

† Garcilasso, Com. Real., ubi supra.

volley ran along the line, and a tempest of balls was poured into the ranks of the assailants, with such unerring aim, that more than a hundred fell dead on the field, while a still greater number were wounded. Before they could recover from their disorder, Carbajal's men, snatching up their remaining pieces, discharged them with the like dreadful effect into the thick of the enemy. The confusion of the latter was now complete. Unable to sustain the incessant shower of balls which fell on them from the scattering fire kept up by the arquebusiers, they were seized with a panic, and fled, scarcely making a show of further fight, from the field.

But very different was the fortune of the day in the cavalry combat. Gonzalo Pizarro had drawn up his troops somewhat in the rear of Carbajal's right, in order to give the latter a freer range for the play of his musketry. When the enemy's horse on the left galloped briskly against him, Pizarro still favouring Carbajal,—whose fire, moreover, inflicted some loss on the assailants,—advanced but a few rods to receive the charge. Centeno's squadron, accordingly, came thundering on in full career, and, notwithstanding the mischief sustained from their enemy's musketry, fell with such fury on their adversaries as to overturn them, man and horse, in the dust; "riding over their prostrate bodies," says the historian, "as if they had been a flock of sheep!"* The latter, with great difficulty, recovering from the first shock, attempted to rally and sustain the fight on more equal terms.

* "Los de Diego Centeno, como yuan con la pujança de vna carrera larga, lleuaron a los de Gonçalo Piçarro de encuentro, y los tropellaron como si fueran ouejas, y cayeron cauallos y caualleros." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xix.

Yet the chief could not regain the ground he had lost. His men were driven back at all points. Many were slain, many more wounded, on both sides, and the ground was covered with the dead bodies of men and horses. But the loss fell much the most heavily on Pizarro's troop; and the greater part of those who escaped with life were obliged to surrender as prisoners. Cepeda, who fought with the fury of despair, received a severe cut from a sabre across the face, which disabled him and forced him to yield.* Pizarro, after seeing his best and bravest fall around him, was set upon by three or four cavaliers at once. Disentangling himself from the *mêlée*, he put spurs to his horse, and the noble animal, bleeding from a severe wound across the back, outstripped all his pursuers except one, who stayed him by seizing the bridle. It would have gone hard with Gonzalo, but, grasping a light battle-axe, which hung by his side, he dealt such a blow on the head of his enemy's horse that he plunged violently, and compelled his rider to release his hold. A number of arquebusiers, in the mean time, seeing Pizarro's distress, sprang forward to his rescue, slew two of his assailants who had now come up with him, and forced the others to fly in their turn.†

* Cepeda's wound laid open his nose, leaving so hideous a scar that he was obliged afterwards to cover it with a patch, as Garcilasso tells us, who frequently saw him in Cuzco.

† According to most authorities, Pizarro's horse was not only wounded but slain in the fight, and the loss was supplied by his friend Garcilasso de la Vega, who mounted him on his own. This timely aid to the rebel did no service to the generous cavalier in after times, but was urged against him by his enemies as a crime. The fact is stoutly denied by his son, the historian, who seems anxious to relieve his father from this honourable imputation, which threw a cloud over both their fortunes. Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxiii.

The rout of the cavalry was complete, and Pizarro considered the day as lost, as he heard the enemy's trumpet sending forth the note of victory. But the sounds had scarcely died away, when they were taken up by the opposite side. Centeno's infantry had been discomfited, as we have seen, and driven off the ground. But his cavalry on the right had charged Carbajal's left, consisting of spearmen mingled with arquebusiers. The horse rode straight against this formidable phalanx. But they were unable to break through the dense array of pikes, held by the steady hands of troops who stood firm and fearless on their post; while, at the same time, the assailants were greatly annoyed by the galling fire of the arquebusiers in the rear of the spearmen. Finding it impracticable to make a breach, the horsemen rode round the flanks in much disorder, and finally joined themselves with the victorious squadron of Centeno's cavalry in the rear. Both parties now attempted another charge on Carbajal's battalion. But his men facing about with the promptness and discipline of well-trained soldiers, the rear was converted into the front. The same forest of spears was presented to the attack, while an incessant discharge of balls punished the audacity of the cavaliers, who, broken and completely dispirited by their ineffectual attempt, at length imitated the example of the panic-struck foot, and abandoned the field.

Pizarro and a few of his comrades still fit for action followed up the pursuit for a short distance only, as, indeed, they were in no condition themselves, nor sufficiently strong in numbers, long to continue it. The victory was complete, and the insurgent chief took possession of the deserted tents of the enemy, where

an immense booty was obtained in silver;* and where he also found the tables spread for the refreshment of Centeno's soldiers after their return from the field. So confident were they of success! The repast now served the necessities of their conquerors. Such is the fortune of war! It was, indeed, a most decisive action; and Gonzalo Pizarro, as he rode over the field strewed with the corpses of his enemies, was observed several times to cross himself and exclaim,—"Jesu! what a victory!"

No less than three hundred and fifty of Centeno's followers were killed, and the number of wounded was even greater. More than a hundred of these are computed to have perished from exposure during the following night; for, although the climate in this elevated region is temperate, yet the night winds blowing over the mountains are sharp and piercing, and many a wounded wretch, who might have been restored by careful treatment, was chilled by the damps, and found a stiffened corpse at sunrise. The victory was not purchased without a heavy loss on the part of the conquerors, a hundred or more of whom were left on the field. Their bodies lay thick on that part of the ground occupied by Pizarro's cavalry, where the fight raged hottest. In this narrow space were found, also, the bodies of more than a hundred horses, the greater part of which, as well as those of their riders, usually

* The booty amounted to no less than one million four hundred thousand *pesos*, according to Fernandez. "El saco que vuo fue grande: que se dixo ser de mas de vn millon y quatrocientos mil pesos." (Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxix.) The amount is, doubtless, grossly exagerated. But we get to be so familiar with the golden wonders of Peru, that, like the reader of the "Arabian Nights," we become of too easy faith to resort to the vulgar standard of probability.

slain with them, belonged to the victorious army. It was the most fatal battle that had yet been fought on the blood-stained soil of Peru.*

The glory of the day—the melancholy glory—must be referred almost wholly to Carbajal and his valiant squadron. The judicious arrangements of the old warrior, with the thorough discipline and unflinching courage of his followers, retrieved the fortunes of the fight, when it was nearly lost by the cavalry, and secured the victory.

Carbajal, proof against all fatigue, followed up the pursuit with those of his men that were in condition to join him. Such of the unhappy fugitives as fell into his hands—most of whom had been traitors to the cause of Pizarro—were sent to instant execution. The laurels he had won in the field against brave men in arms, like himself, were tarnished by cruelty towards his defenceless captives. Their commander, Centeno, more fortunate, made his escape. Finding the battle lost, he quitted his litter, threw himself upon his horse, and, notwithstanding his illness, urged on by the dreadful doom that awaited him, if taken, he succeeded in making his way into the neighbouring sierra. Here he vanished from his pursuers, and, like

* "La mas sangrienta batalla que vuo en el Perú." Hist. del. Perú, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxix.

In the accounts of this battle there are discrepancies, as usual, which the historian must reconcile as he can. But on the whole, there is a general conformity in the outline and in the prominent points. All concur in representing it as the bloodiest fight that had yet occurred between the Spaniards in Peru, and all assign to Carbajal the credit of the victory. For authorities, besides Garcilasso and Fernandez, repeatedly quoted, see Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. (He was present in the action.)—Zarate, Conq. del. Peru, lib. vii. cap. iii.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. iv. cap. ii.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxi.—Montesinos, Annales, MS., año 1547.

a wounded stag, with the chase close upon his track, he still contrived to elude it, by plunging into the depths of the forests, till, by a circuitous route he miraculously succeeded in effecting his escape to Lima. The bishop of Cuzco, who went off in a different direction, was no less fortunate. Happy for him that he did not fall into the hands of the ruthless Carbajal, who, as the bishop had once been a partisan of Pizarro, would, to judge from the little respect he usually shewed those of his cloth, have felt as little compunction in sentencing him to the gibbet as if he had been the meanest of the common file.*

On the day following the action, Gonzalo Pizarro caused the bodies of the soldiers, still lying side by side on the field where they had been so lately engaged together in mortal strife, to be deposited in a common sepulchre. Those of high rank—for distinctions of rank were not to be forgotten in the grave—were removed to the church of the village of Huarina, which gave its name to the battle. There they were interred with all fitting solemnity. But in later times they were transported to the cathedral church of La Paz, "The City of Peace," and laid under a mausoleum erected by general subscription in that quarter. For few there were who had not to mourn the loss of some friend or relative on that fatal day.

The victor now profited by his success to send detachments to Arequipa, La Plata, and other cities in that part of the country, to raise funds and reinforcements for the war. His own losses were more than

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.— Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, ubi supra.—Zarate, lib. vii. cap. iii.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxi. xxii.

compensated by the number of the vanquished party who were content to take service under his banner. Mustering his forces, he directed his march to Cuzco, which capital, though occasionally seduced into a display of loyalty to the Crown, had early manifested an attachment to his cause.

Here the inhabitants were prepared to receive him in triumph, under arches thrown across the streets, with bands of music, and minstrelsy commemorating his successes. But Pizarro, with more discretion, declined the honours of an ovation while the country remained in the hands of his enemies. Sending forward the main body of his troops, he followed on foot, attended by a slender retinue of friends and citizens, and proceeded at once to the cathedral, where thanksgivings were offered up, and *Te Deum* was chanted in honour of his victory. He then withdrew to his residence, announcing his purpose to establish his quarters, for the present, in the venerable capital of the Incas.*

All thoughts of a retreat into Chili were abandoned; for his recent success had kindled new hopes in his bosom, and revived his ancient confidence. He trusted that it would have a similar effect on the vacillating temper of those whose fidelity had been shaken by fears for their own safety, and their distrust of his ability to cope with the president. They

* Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxvii.—Ped. Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. iii.

Garcilasso de la Vega, who was a boy at the time, witnessed Pizarro's entry into Cuzco. He writes, therefore, from memory; though after an interval of many years. In consequence of his father's rank, he had easy access to the palace of Pizarro; and this portion of his narrative may claim the consideration due not merely to a contemporary, but to an eyewitness.

would now see that his star was still in the ascendant. Without further apprehensions for the event, he resolved to remain in Cuzco, and there quietly await the hour when a last appeal to arms should decide which of the two was to remain master of Peru.

CHAPTER III.

Dismay in Gasca's Camp.—His Winter Quarters.—Resumes his March.—Crosses the Apurimac.—Pizarro's Conduct in Cuzco.—He encamps near the City.—Rout of Xaquixaguana.

1547, 1548.

WHILE the events recorded in the preceding chapter were passing, President Gasca had remained at Xauxa, awaiting further tidings from Centeno, little doubting that they would inform him of the total discomfiture of the rebels. Great was his dismay, therefore, on learning the issue of the fatal conflict at Huarina,—that the royalists had been scattered far and wide before the sword of Pizarro, while their commander had vanished like an apparition,* leaving the greatest uncertainty as to his fate.

The intelligence spread general consternation among the soldiers, proportioned to their former confidence; and they felt it was almost hopeless to contend with a man who seemed protected by a charm that made him invincible against the greatest odds. The president, however sore his disappointment, was careful to conceal it, while he endeavoured to restore the spirits of his followers. "They had been too sanguine," he said, "and it was in this way that heaven rebuked

* "Y salio a la Ciudad de los Reyes, sin que Carbajal, ni alguno de los suyos supiesse por donde fue, sino que parecio encantamiento.' Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxii.

their presumption. Yet it was but in the usual course of events, that Providence, when it designed to humble the guilty, should allow him to reach as high an elevation as possible, that his fall might be the greater!"

But while Gasca thus strove to reassure the superstitious and the timid, he bent his mind, with his usual energy, to repair the injury which the cause had sustained by the defeat at Huarina. He sent a detachment under Alvarado to Lima, to collect such of the royalists as had fled thither from the field of battle, and to dismantle the ships of their cannon, and bring them to the camp. Another body was sent to Guamanga, about sixty leagues from Cuzco, for the similar purpose of protecting the fugitives and also of preventing the Indian caciques from forwarding supplies to the insurgent army in Cuzco. As his own forces now amounted to considerably more than any his opponent could bring against him, Gasca determined to break up his camp without further delay, and march on the Inca capital.*

Quitting Xauxa, December 29, 1547, he passed through Guamanga, and after a severe march, rendered particularly fatiguing by the inclement state of the weather and the badness of the roads, he entered the

* Gasca, according to Ondegardo, supported his army, during his stay at Xauxa, from the Peruvian granaries in the valley, as he found a quantity of maize still remaining in them sufficient for several years' consumption. It is passing strange that these depositaries should have been so long respected by the hungry Conquerors.—"Cuando el Señor Presidente Gasca passó con la gente de castigo de Gonsalo Pizarro por el Valle de Jauja, estuvo alli siete semanas á lo que me acuerdo, se hallaron en deposito maiz de cuatro y de tres y de dos años mas de 15,000 hanegas junto al camino, é alli comió la gente." Ondegardo, Rel. Seg., MS.

province of Andaguaylas. It was a fair and fruitful country, and since the road beyond would take him into the depths of a gloomy sierra, scarcely passable in the winter snows, Gasca resolved to remain in his present quarters until the severity of the season was mitigated. As many of the troops had already contracted diseases from exposure to the incessant rains, he established a camp hospital; and the good president personally visited the quarters of the sick, ministering to their wants, and winning their hearts by his sympathy.*

Meanwhile, the royal camp was strengthened by the continual arrival of reinforcements; for notwithstanding the shock that was caused throughout the country by the first tidings of Pizarro's victory, a little reflection convinced the people that the right was the strongest, and must eventually prevail. There came, also, with these levies, several of the most distinguished captains in the country. Centeno, burning to retrieve his late disgrace, after recovering from his illness, joined the camp with his followers from Lima. Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, who, as the reader will remember, had shared in the defeat of Blasco Nuñez in the north, came with another detachment; and was soon after followed by Valdivia, the famous conqueror of Chili, who, having returned to Peru to gather recruits for his expedition, had learned the state of the country, and had thrown himself, without hesitation, into the same scale with the president, though it brought him into collision with his old

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. iv.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxxii. lxxxv. — Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Cieza de Leon, cap. xc.

friend and comrade, Gonzalo Pizarro. The arrival of this last ally was greeted with general rejoicing by the camp; for Valdivia, schooled in the Italian wars, was esteemed the most accomplished soldier in Peru; and Gasca complimented him by declaring "he would rather see him than a reinforcement of eight hundred men!"*

Besides these warlike auxiliaries, the president was attended by a train of ecclesiastics and civilians, such as was rarely found in the martial fields of Peru. Among them were the bishops of Quito, Cuzco, and Lima, the four judges of the new Audience, and a considerable number of churchmen and monkish missionaries.† However little they might serve to strengthen his arm in battle, their presence gave authority and something of a sacred character to the cause, which had their effect on the minds of the soldiers.

The wintry season now began to give way before the mild influence of spring, which makes itself early felt in these tropical, but from their elevation, temperate regions; and Gasca, after nearly three months' detention in Andaguaylas, mustered his levies for the final march upon Cuzco.‡ Their whole number fell little short of two thousand,—the largest European force yet assembled in Peru. Nearly half were provided with fire-arms; and infantry was more available

* At least, so says Valdivia in his letter to the emperor. "I dixo publico que estimara mas mi persona que á los mejores ochocientos hombres de guerra que le pudieran venir aquella hora." Carta de Valdivia, MS.

† Zarate, MS.

‡ Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. xc.

The old chronicler, or rather geographer, Cieza de Leon, was present in the campaign, he tells us; so that his testimony, always good, becomes for the remaining events of more than usual value.

than horse in the mountain countries which they were to traverse. But his cavalry was also numerous, and he carried with him a train of eleven heavy guns. The equipment and discipline of the troops were good; they were well provided with ammunition and military stores; and were led by officers whose names were associated with the most memorable achievements in the new world. All who had any real interest in the weal of the country were to be found, in short, under the president's banner, making a striking contrast to the wild and reckless adventurers who now swelled the ranks of Pizarro.

Gasca, who did not affect a greater knowledge of military affairs than he really possessed, had given the charge of his forces to Hinojosa, naming the Marshal Alvarado as second in command. Valdivia, who came after these dispositions had been made, accepted a colonel's commission, with the understanding that he was to be consulted and employed in all matters of moment.*—Having completed his arrangements, the president broke up his camp in March, 1548, and moved upon Cuzco.

The first obstacle to his progress was the river Abancay, the bridge over which had been broken

* Valdivia, indeed, claims to have had the whole command intrusted to him by Gasca. "Luego me dio el autoridad toda que traia de parte de V. M. para en los casos tocantes á la guerra, i me encargó todo el exercito, i le puso baxo de mi mano rogando i pidiendo por merced de su parte á todos aquellos caballeros capitanes e gente de guerra, i de la di V.M. mandandoles me obedesciesen en todo lo que les mandase acerca de la guerra, i cumpliesen mis mandamientos como los suyos." (Carta de Valdivia, MS.) But other authorities state it, with more probability, as given in the text. Valdivia, it must be confessed, loses nothing from modesty. The whole of his letter to the emperor is written in a strain of self-glorification, rarely matched even by a Castilian hidalgo.

down by the enemy. But as there was no force to annoy them on the opposite bank, the army was not long in preparing a new bridge, and throwing it across the stream, which in this place had nothing formidable in its character. The road now struck into the heart of a mountain region, where woods, precipices, and ravines were mingled together in a sort of chaotic confusion, with here and there a green and sheltered valley, glittering like an island of verdure amidst the wild breakers of a troubled ocean. The bold peaks of the Andes, rising far above the clouds, were enveloped in snow, which, descending far down their sides, gave a piercing coldness to the winds that swept over their surface, until men and horses were benumbed and stiffened under their influence. The roads, in these regions, were in some places so narrow and broken, as to be nearly impracticable for cavalry. The cavaliers were compelled to dismount; and the president, with the rest, performed the journey on foot, so hazardous, that, even in later times, it has been no uncommon thing for the sure-footed mule to be precipitated, with its cargo of silver, thousands of feet down the sheer sides of a precipice.*

By these impediments of the ground, the march was so retarded, that the troops seldom accomplished more than two leagues a day.† Fortunately, the distance was not great; and the president looked with more apprehension to the passage of the Apurimac, which he was now approaching. This river, one of the most formidable tributaries of the Amazon, rolls its broad waters through the gorges of the Cordilleras, that rise up like an immense rampart of rock on either side,

* Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. xci. † MS. de Caravantes.

presenting a natural barrier which it would be easy for an enemy to make good against a force much superior to his own. The bridges over this river, as Gasca learned before his departure from Andaguaylas, had been all destroyed by Pizarro. The president, accordingly, had sent to explore the banks of the stream, and determine the most eligible spot for reëstablishing communications with the opposite side.

The place selected was near the Indian village of Cotapampa, about nine leagues from Cuzco; for the river, though rapid and turbulent from being compressed within more narrow limits, was here less than two hundred paces in width; a distance, however, not inconsiderable. Directions had been given to collect materials in large quantities in the neighbourhood of this spot as soon as possible; and at the same time, in order to perplex the enemy and compel him to divide his forces, should he be disposed to resist, materials in smaller quantities were assembled on three other points of the river. The officer stationed in the neighbourhood of Cotapampa was instructed not to begin to lay the bridge, till the arrival of a sufficient force should accelerate the work, and insure its success.

The structure in question, it should be remembered, was one of those suspension bridges formerly employed by the Incas, and still used in crossing the deep and turbulent rivers of South America. They are made of osier withes, twisted into enormous cables, which, when stretched across the water, are attached to heavy blocks of masonry, or, where it will serve, to the natural rock. Planks are laid transversely across these cables, and a passage is thus secured, which, notwithstanding the light and fragile

appearance of the bridge, as it swings at an elevation sometimes of several hundred feet above the abyss, affords a tolerably safe means of conveyance for men, and even for such heavy burdens as artillery.*

Notwithstanding the peremptory commands of Gasca, the officer entrusted with collecting the materials for the bridge was so anxious to have the honour of completing the work himself, that he commenced it at once. The president, greatly displeased at learning this, quickened his march, in order to cover the work with his whole force. But, while toiling through the mountain labyrinth, tidings were brought him that a party of the enemy had demolished the small portion of the bridge already made, by cutting the cables on the opposite bank. Valdivia, accordingly, hastened forward at the head of two hundrd arquebusiers, while the main body of the army followed with as much speed as practicable.

That officer, on reaching the spot, found that the interruption had been caused by a small party of Pizarro's followers, not exceeding twenty in number, assisted by a stronger body of Indians. He at once caused *balsas*, broad and clumsy barks, or rather rafts, of the country, to be provided, and by this means passed his men over, without opposition, to the other side of the river. The enemy, disconcerted by the arrival of such a force, retreated, and made the best of their way to report the affair to their commander at Cuzco. Meanwhile, Valdivia, who saw the importance of every moment in the present crisis, pushed

* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap lxxxvi. lxxxvii. —Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. v.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—MS. de Caravantes.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

forward the work with the greatest vigour. Through all that night his weary troops continued the labour, which was already well advanced, when the president and his battalions, emerging from the passes of the Cordilleras, presented themselves at sunrise on the opposite bank.

Little time was given for repose, as all felt assured that the success of their enterprise hung on the short respite now given them by the improvident enemy. The president, with his principal officers, took part in the labour with the common soldiers;* and before ten o'clock in the evening, Gasca had the satisfaction to see the bridge so well secured, that the leading files of the army, unencumbered by their baggage, might venture to cross it. A short time sufficed to place several hundred men on the other bank. But here a new difficulty, not less formidable than that of the river, presented itself to the troops. The ground rose up with an abrupt, almost precipitous, swell from the river-side, till, in the highest peaks, it reached an elevation of several thousand feet. This steep ascent, though not to its full height, indeed, was now to be surmounted. The difficulties of the ground, broken up into fearful chasms and water-courses, and tangled with thickets, were greatly increased by the darkness of the night; and the soldiers, as they toiled slowly upward, were filled with apprehension, akin to fear, from the uncertainty whether each successive step might not bring them into an ambuscade, for which

* "La gente que estaua, de la vna parte y de la otra, todos tirauan y trabajauan al poner y apretar de las criznejas, sin que el Presidente ni obispos, ni otra persona, quisiesse tener preuilegio para dexar de trabajar." Fernández, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxxvii.

the ground was so favourable. More than once, the Spaniards were thrown into a panic by false reports that the enemy were upon them. But Hinojosa and Valdivia were at hand to rally their men, and cheer them on, until, at length, before dawn broke, the bold cavaliers and their followers placed themselves on the highest point traversed by the road, where they waited the arrival of the president. This was not long delayed; and in the course of the following morning, the royalists were already in sufficient strength to bid defiance to their enemy.

The passage of the river had been effected with less loss than might have been expected, considering the darkness of the night, and the numbers that crowded over the aërial causeway. Some few, indeed, fell into the water, and were drowned; and more than sixty horses, in the attempt to swim them across the river, were hurried down the current, and dashed against the rocks below.* It still required time to bring up the heavy train of ordnance and the military wagons; and the president encamped on the strong ground which he now occupied, to await their arrival, and to breathe his troops after their extraordinary efforts. In these quarters we must leave him, to acquaint the reader with the state of things in the insurgent army, and with the cause of its strange remissness in guarding the passes of the Apurimac.†

* "Aquel dia pasaron mas de quatrocientos hombres, llevando los caballos á nado, encima de ellos atadas sus armas i arcabuces, caso pue se perdieron mas de sesenta caballos, que con la corriente grande se desataron, i luego daban en vnas peñas, donde se hacian pedaços, sin darles lugar el impetu del rio á que pudiesen nadar." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. v.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxiv.

† Ibid., ubi supra. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxxvii.—Zarate, Conq.

From the time of Pizarro's occupation of Cuzco, he had lived in careless luxury in the midst of his followers, like a soldier of fortune in the hour of prosperity; enjoying the present, with as little concern for the future as if the crown of Peru were already fixed irrevocably upon his head. It was otherwise with Carbajal. He looked on the victory at Huarina as the commencement, not the close, of the struggle for empire; and he was indefatigable in placing his troops in the best condition for maintaining their present advantage. At the first streak of dawn, the veteran might be seen mounted on his mule, with the garb and air of a common soldier, riding about in the different quarters of the capital, sometimes superintending the manufacture of arms or providing military stores, and sometimes drilling his men, for he was most careful always to maintain the strictest discipline.* His restless spirit seemed to find no pleasure but in incessant action; living, as he had always done in the turmoil of military adventure, he had no relish for any thing unconnected with war, and in the city saw only the materials for a well organized camp.

With these feelings, he was much dissatisfied at the course taken by his younger leader, who now pro-

del Peru, lib. vii. cap. v.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—MS. de Caravantes.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Cieza de Leon, Cronica, cap. xci.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

* "Andaua siempre en vna mula crescida de color entre pardo y bermejò, yo no le vi en otra cualgadura en todo el tiempo que estuuo en el Cozco antes de la batalla de Sacsahuana. Era tan contino y diligẽte en solicitar lo que á su exercito conuenia, que á todas horas del dia y de la noche le topauan sus soldados haziendo su oficio, y los agenos." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte i. lib. v. cap. xxvii.

fessed his intention to abide where he was, and, when the enemy advanced, to give him battle. Carbajal advised a very different policy. He had not that full confidence, it would seem, in the loyalty of Pizarro's partisans, at least, not of those who had once followed the banner of Centeno. These men, some three hundred in number, had been in a manner compelled to take service under Pizarro. They shewed no heartiness in the cause, and the veteran strongly urged his commander to disband them at once; since it was far better to go to battle with a few faithful followers than with a host of the false and faint-hearted.

But Carbajal thought, also, that his leader was not sufficiently strong in numbers to encounter his opponent, supported as he was by the best captains of Peru. He advised, accordingly, that he should abandon Cuzco, carrying off all the treasure, provisions, and stores of every kind from the city, which might, in any way, serve the necessities of the royalists. The latter, on their arrival, disappointed by the poverty of a place where they had expected to find so much booty, would become disgusted with the service. Pizarro, meanwhile, might take refuge with his men in the neighbouring fastnesses, where familiar with the ground, it would be easy to elude the enemy; and if the latter persevered in the pursuit, with numbers diminished by desertion, it would not be difficult in the mountain passes to find an opportunity for assailing him at advantage.—Such was the wary counsel of the old warrior. But it was not to the taste of his fiery commander, who preferred to risk the chances of a battle, rather than turn his back on a foe.

Neither did Pizarro shew more favour to a pro-

position, said to have been made by the Licentiate Cepeda,—that he should avail himself of his late success to enter into negotiations with Gasca. Such advice, from the man who had so recently resisted all overtures of the president, could only have proceeded from a conviction, that the late victory placed Pizarro on a vantage-ground for demanding terms far better than would have been before conceded to him. It may be that subsequent experience had also led him to distrust the fidelity of Gonzalo's followers, or possibly, the capacity of their chief to conduct them through the present crisis. Whatever may have been the motives of the slippery counsellor, Pizarro gave little heed to the suggestion, and even shewed some resentment, as the matter was pressed on him. In every contest, with Indian or European, whatever had been the odds, he had come off victorious. He was not now for the first time to despond; and he resolved to remain in Cuzco, and hazard all on the chances of a battle. There was something in the hazard itself captivating to his bold and chivalrous temper. In this, too, he was confirmed by some of the cavaliers who had followed him through all his fortunes; reckless young adventurers, who, like himself, would rather risk all on a single throw of the dice, than adopt the cautious, and, as it seemed to them, timid policy of graver counsellors. It was by such advisers, then, that Pizarro's future course was to be shaped.*

Such was the state of affairs in Cuzco, when Pizarro's

* Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxvii.— Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxii. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxxviii. "Finalmente, Gonçalo Pizarro dixo que queria prouar su ventura: pues siempre auia sido vencedor, y jamas vencido." Ibid., ubi supra.

soldiers returned with the tidings, that a detachment of the enemy had crossed the Apurimac, and were busy in reëstablishing the bridge. Carbajal saw at once the absolute necessity of maintaining this pass. "It is my affair," he said; "I claim to be employed on this service. Give me but a hundred picked men, and I will engage to defend the pass against an army, and bring back the *chaplain*—the name by which the president was known in the rebel camp—a prisoner to Cuzco."* "I cannot spare you, father," said Gonzalo, addressing him by this affectionate epithet, which he usually applied to his aged follower,† "I cannot spare you so far from my own person;" and he gave the commission to Juan de Acosta, a young cavalier warmly attached to his commander, and who had given undoubted evidence of his valour on more than one occasion, but who, as the event proved, was signally deficient in the qualities demanded for so critical an undertaking as the present. Acosta, accordingly, was placed at the head of two hundred mounted musketeers, and, after much wholesome counsel from Carbajal, set out on his expedition.

But he soon forgot the veteran's advice, and moved at so dull a pace over the difficult roads, that, although the distance was not more than nine leagues, he found, on his arrival, the bridge completed, and so large a body of the enemy already crossed, that he was in no strength to attack them. Acosta did, indeed, meditate an ambuscade by night; but the design was betrayed

* "Paresceme vuestra Señoria se vaya á la vuelta del collao y me deje cien hombres, los que yo escojiere, que yo me iré á vista deste capellan, que ansi llamba él al presidente." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

† Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxi.

by a deserter, and he contented himself with retreating to a safe distance, and sending for a further reinforcement from Cuzco. Three hundred men were promptly detached to his support; but when they arrived, the enemy was already planted in full force on the crest of the eminence. The golden opportunity was irrecoverably lost; and the disconsolate cavalier rode back in all haste to report the failure of his enterprise to his commander in Cuzco.*

The only question now to be decided was as to the spot where Gonzalo Pizarro should give battle to his enemies. He determined at once to abandon the capital and wait for his opponents in the neighbouring valley of Xaquixaguana. It was about five leagues distant, and the reader may remember it as the place where Francis Pizarro burned the Peruvian general Challcuchima, on his first occupation of Cuzco. The valley, fenced round by the lofty rampart of the Andes, was, for the most part, green and luxuriant, affording many picturesque points of view; and from the genial

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxxviii.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. v.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.

Valdivia's letter to the emperor, dated at Concepcion, was written about two years after the events above recorded. It is chiefly taken up with his Chilian conquests, to which his campaign under Gasca, on his visit to Peru, forms a kind of brilliant episode. This letter, the original of which is preserved in Simancas, covers about seventy folio pages in the copy belonging to me. It is one of that class of historical documents, consisting of the despatches and correspondence of the colonial governors, which, from the minuteness of the details and the means of information possessed by the writers, are of the highest worth. The despatches addressed to the Court, particularly, may compare with the celebrated *Relazioni* made by the Venetian ambassadors to their republic, and now happily in the course of publication, at Florence, under the editorial auspices of the learned Albèri.

temperature of the climate, had been a favourite summer residence of the Indian nobles, many of whose pleasure-houses still dotted the sides of the mountains. A river, or rather stream, of no great volume, flowed through one end of this enclosure, and the neighbouring soil was so wet and miry as to have the character of a morass.

Here the rebel commander arrived, after a tedious march over roads not easily traversed by his train of heavy wagons and artillery. His forces amounted in all to about nine hundred men, with some half-dozen pieces of ordnance. It was a well-appointed body, and under excellent discipline, for it had been schooled by the strictest martinet in the Peruvian service. But it was the misfortune of Pizarro that his army was composed, in part, at least, of men on whose attachment to his cause he could not confidently rely. This was a deficiency which no courage nor skill in the leader could supply.

On entering the valley, Pizarro selected the eastern quarter of it, towards Cuzco, as the most favourable spot for his encampment. It was crossed by the stream above mentioned, and he stationed his army in such a manner, that while one extremity of the camp rested on a natural barrier formed by the mountain cliffs that here rose up almost perpendicularly, the other was protected by the river. While it was scarcely possible, therefore, to assail his flanks, the approaches in front were so extremely narrowed by these obstacles, that it would not be easy to overpower him by numbers in that direction. In the rear, his communications remained open with Cuzco, furnishing a ready means for obtaining supplies. Having secured

this strong position, he resolved patiently to wait the assault of the enemy.*

Meanwhile, the royal army had been toiling up the steep sides of the Cordilleras, until, at the close of the third day, the president had the satisfaction to find himself surrounded by his whole force, with their guns and military stores. Having now sufficiently refreshed his men, he resumed his march, and all went forward with the buoyant confidence of bringing their quarrel with the *tyrant*, as Pizarro was called, to a speedy issue.

Their advance was slow, as in the previous part of the march, for the ground was equally embarrassing. It was not long, however, before the president learned that his antagonist had pitched his camp in the neighbouring valley of Xaquixaguana. Soon afterward, two friars, sent by Gonzalo himself, appeared in the army, for the ostensible purpose of demanding a sight of the powers with which Gasca was intrusted. But as their conduct gave reason to suspect they were spies, the president caused the holy men to be seized, and refused to allow them to return to Pizarro. By an emissary of his own, whom he despatched to the rebel chief, he renewed the assurance of pardon already given him, in case he would lay down his arms and submit. Such an act of generosity, at this late hour, must be allowed to be highly creditable to Gasca, believing, as he probably did, that the game was in his own hands.—It is a pity that the anecdote does not rest on the best authority.†

* Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxiii. xxxiv.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxv.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxxviii.

† The fact is not mentioned

After a march of a couple of days, the advanced guard of the royalists came suddenly on the out-posts of the insurgents, from whom they had been concealed by a thick mist, and a slight skirmish took place between them. At length, on the morning of the 8th of April, the royal army, turning the crest of the lofty range that belts round the lovely valley of Xaquixaguana, beheld far below on the opposite side the glittering lines of the enemy, with their white pavilions, looking like clusters of wild fowl nestling among the cliffs of the mountains. And still further off might be descried a host of Indian warriors, shewing gaudily in their variegated costumes; for the natives, in this part of the country, with little perception of their true interests, manifested great zeal in the cause of Pizarro.

Quickening their step, the royal army now hastily descended the steep sides of the sierra; and notwithstanding every effort of their officers, they moved in so little order, each man picking his way as he could, that the straggling column presented many a vulnerable point to the enemy; and the descent would not have been accomplished without considerable loss, had Pizarro's cannon been planted on any of the favourable positions which the ground afforded. But that commander, far from attempting to check the president's approach, remained doggedly in the strong position he had occupied, with the full confidence that his

by any of the parties present at these transactions. It is to be found, with some little discrepancy of circumstances, in Gomara (Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxv.), and Zarate (Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. vi.); and their positive testimony may be thought by most readers to outweigh the negative afforded by the silence of other contemporaries.

adversaries would not hesitate to assail it, strong as it was, in the same manner as they had done at Huarina.*

Yet he did not omit to detach a corps of arquebusiers to secure a neighbouring eminence or spur of the Cordilleras, which in the hands of the enemy might cause some annoyance to his own camp, while it commanded still more effectually the ground soon to be occupied by the assailants. But his manœuvre was noticed by Hinojosa; and he defeated it by sending a stronger detachment of the royal musketeers, who repulsed the rebels, and, after a short skirmish, got possession of the heights. Gasca's general profited by this success to plant a small battery of cannon on the eminence, from which, although the distance was too great for him to do much execution, he threw some shot into the hostile camp. One ball, indeed, struck down two men, one of them Pizarro's page, killing a horse, at the same time, which he held by the bridle; and the chief instantly ordered the tents to be struck, considering that they afforded too obvious a mark for the artillery.†

Meanwhile, the president's forces had descended into

* "Salió á Xaquixaguana con toda su gente y allí nos aguardó en un llano junto á un cerro alto por donde bajábamos; y cierto nuestro Señor le cegó el entendimiento, porque si nos aguardaran al pie de la bajada, hicieran mucho daño á nosotros. Retiráronse á un llano junto á una ciénaga, creyendo que nuestro campo allí les acometiera y con la ventaja que nos tenian del puesto nos vencie.a." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

† "Porq̃. muchas pelotas dieron en medio de la gente, y una dellas mató jũto á Gonçalo Pizarro vn criado suyo que se estaua armando, y mató otro hombre y vn cauallo, que puso grande alteracion en el campo, y abatieron todas las tiẽdas y toldos." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxxix.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

the valley, and as they came on the plain were formed into line by their officers. The ground occupied by the army was somewhat lower than that of their enemy, whose shot, as discharged, from time to time, from his batteries, passed over their heads. Information was now brought by a deserter, one of Centeno's old followers, that Pizarro was getting ready for a night attack. The president, in consequence, commanded his whole force to be drawn up in battle array, prepared at any instant, to repulse the assault. But if such were meditated by the insurgent chief, he abandoned it,—and, as it is said, from a distrust of the fidelity of some of the troops, who, under cover of the darkness, he feared, would go over to the opposite side. If this be true, he must have felt the full force of Carbajal's admonition, when too late to profit by it. The unfortunate commander was in the situation of some bold, high-mettled cavalier, rushing to battle on a war-horse whose tottering joints threaten to give way under him at every step, and leave his rider to the mercy of his enemies!

The president's troops stood to their arms the greater part of the night, although the air from the mountains was so keen, that it was with difficulty they could hold their lances in their hands.* But before the rising sun had kindled into a glow the highest peaks of the sierra, both camps were in motion, and busily engaged in preparations for the combat. The royal army was formed into two battalions of infantry, one to attack the enemy in front, and the other, if

* "I asi estuvo el campo toda la noche en arma, desarmadas las tiendas, padesciendo mui gran frio que no podian tener las lanças en las manos." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. vi.

possible, to operate on his flank. These battalions were protected by squadrons of horse on the wings and in the rear, while reserves both of horse and arquebusiers were stationed to act as occasion might require. The dispositions were made in so masterly a manner, as to draw forth a hearty eulogium from old Carbajal, who exclaimed, "Surely the Devil or Valdivia must be among them!" an undeniable compliment to the latter, since the speaker was ignorant of that commander's presence in the camp.*

Gasca, leaving the conduct of the battle to his officers, withdrew to the rear with his train of clergy and licentiates, the last of whom did not share in the ambition of their rebel brother, Cepeda, to break a lance in the field.

Gonzalo Pizarro formed his squadron in the same manner as he had done on the plains of Huarina; except that the increased number of his horse now enabled him to cover both flanks of his infantry. It was still on his fire-arms, however, that he chiefly relied. As the ranks were formed, he rode among them, encouraging his men to do their duty like brave cavaliers, and true soldiers of the Conquest. Pizarro was superbly armed, as usual, and wore a complete suit of mail, of the finest manufacture, which, as well as his helmet, was richly inlaid with gold.† He rode

* "Y assi quando vio Francisco de Caruajal el campo real, pareciendole que los esquadrones venian biẽ ordenados, dixo, 'Valdiuia está en la tierra y rige el campo, ó el diablo.'" Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. lxxxix.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Gomara, Hist de las Indias, cap. clxxxv.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. vi.—Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxiv.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.

† "Iba mui galán i gentil hombre sobre vn poderoso caballo castaño, armado de cota, i cora-

a chestnut horse of great strength and spirit, and as he galloped along the line, brandishing his lance, and displaying his easy horsemanship, he might be thought to form no bad personification of the Genius of Chivalry. To complete his dispositions, he ordered Cepeda to lead up the infantry; for the licentiate seems to have had a larger share in the conduct of his affairs of late, or at least in the present military arrangements, than Carbajal. The latter, indeed, whether from disgust at the course taken by his leader, or from a distrust, which, it is said, he did not affect to conceal, of the success of the present operations, disclaimed all responsibility for them, and chose to serve rather as a private cavalier than as a commander.* Yet Cepeda, as the event shewed, was no less shrewd in detecting the coming ruin.

When he had received his orders from Pizarro, he rode forward as if to select the ground for his troops to occupy; and in doing so disappeared for a few moments behind a projecting cliff. He soon reappeared, however, and was seen galloping at full speed across the plain. His men looked with astonishment, yet not distrusting his motives, till, as he continued his course direct towards the enemy's lines, his treachery became apparent. Several pushed forward to overtake him, and among them a cavalier, better mounted than

cinas ricas, con vna sobre ropa de raso bien golpeada, i vn capacete de oro en la cabeça, con su barbote de lo mismo." Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxv.

* "Porque el maesse de campo, Francisco de Caruajal, como hombre desdeñado de que Gonçalo Piçarro no huuiesse querido seguir su parecer y consejo, (dandose ya por vencido,) no quiso hazer oficio de maesse de campo como solia, y assi fue á ponerse en el esquadron con su compañia, como vno de los capitanes de ynfanteria." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxv.

Cepeda. The latter rode a horse of no great strength or speed, quite unfit for this critical manœuvre of his master. The animal was, moreover, encumbered by the weight of the caparisons with which his ambitious rider had loaded him, so that, on reaching a piece of miry ground that lay between the armies, his pace was greatly retarded.* Cepeda's pursuers rapidly gained on him, and the Cavalier above noticed came, at length, so near as to throw a lance at the fugitive, which, wounding him in the thigh, pierced his horse's flank, and they both came headlong to the ground. It would have fared ill with the licentiate, in this emergency, but fortunately a small party of troopers on the other side, who had watched the chase, now galloped briskly forward to the rescue, and beating off his pursuers, they recovered Cepeda from the mire, and bore him to the president's quarters.

He was received by Gasca with the greatest satisfaction,—so great, that, according to one chronicler, he did not disdain to shew it by saluting the licentiate on the cheek.† The anecdote is scarcely reconcilable with the characters and relations of the parties, or with the president's subsequent conduct. Gasca, however, recognized the full value of his prize, and the effect which his desertion at such a time must have on the spirits of the rebels. Cepeda's movement, so unexpected by his own party, was the result of previous deliberation, as he had secretly given assurance, it is said, to the prior of Arequipa, then in the royal camp, that if Gonzalo Pizarro could not be induced to

* Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxv.

† "Gasca abraçó i besó en el carrillo á Cepeda, aunque lo llevaba encenagado, teniendo por vencido á Piçarro, con su falta." Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxv.

accept the pardon offered him, he would renounce his cause.* The time selected by the crafty counsellor for doing so was that most fatal to the interests of his commander.

The example of Cepeda was contagious. Garcilasso de la Vega, father of the historian, a cavalier of old family, and probably of higher consideration than any other in Pizarro's party, put spurs to his horse, at the same time with the licentiate, and rode over to the enemy. Ten or a dozen of the arquebusiers followed in the same direction, and succeeded in placing themselves under the protection of the advanced guard of the royalists.

Pizarro stood aghast at this desertion, in so critical a juncture, of those in whom he had most trusted. He was, for a moment, bewildered. The very ground on which he stood seemed to be crumbling beneath him. With this state of feeling among his soldiers, he saw that every minute of delay was fatal. He dared not wait for the assault, as he had intended, in his strong position, but instantly gave the word to advance. Gasca's general, Hinojosa, seeing the enemy in motion, gave similar orders to his own troops. Instantly the skirmishers and arquebusiers on the flanks moved rapidly forward, the artillery prepared to open their fire, and "the whole army," says the president in his own account of the affair, "advanced with steady step and perfect determination." †

* "Ça, segun pareció, Cepeda le huvo avisado con Fr. Antonio de Castro, Prior de Santo Domingo en Arequipa, que si Piçarro no quisiesse concierto ninguno, él se pasaria al servicio del Emperador á tiempo que le deshiciese." Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxv.

† "Visto por Gonzalo Pizarro i Caravajal su maestre de campo que se les iva gente procuraron de

But before a shot was fired, a column of arquebusiers, composed chiefly of Centeno's followers, abandoned their post, and marched directly over to the enemy. A squadron of horse, sent in pursuit of them, followed their example. The president instantly commanded his men to halt, unwilling to spill blood unnecessarily, as the rebel host was like to fall to pieces of itself.

Pizarro's faithful adherents were seized with a panic, as they saw themselves and their leader thus betrayed into the enemy's hands. Further resistance was useless. Some threw down their arms, and fled in the direction of Cuzco. Others sought to escape to the mountains; and some crossed to the opposite side, and surrendered themselves prisoners, hoping it was not too late to profit by the promises of grace. The Indian allies, on seeing the Spaniards falter, had been the first to go off the ground.*

Pizarro, amidst the general wreck, found himself left with only a few cavaliers who disdained to fly. Stunned by the unexpected reverse of fortune, the unhappy chief could hardly comprehend his situation. "What remains for us?" said he to Acosta, one of those who still adhered to him. "Fall on the enemy,

caminar en su orden hacia el campo de S. M., i que viendo esto los lados i sobresalientes del exercito real se empezaron á llegar á ellos i á disparar en ellos, i que lo mesmo hizo la artilleria; i todo el campo, con paso bien concertado i entera determinacion, se llegó á ellos." Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

* "Los Indios que tenian los enemigos que diz que eran mucha cantidad huyeron mui á furia." (Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.) For the particulars of the battle, more or less minute, see Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Garcilasso, Com. Real, parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxv.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxv. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xc.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. vii.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. iv. cap. xvi.

since nothing else is left," answered the lion-hearted soldier, "and die like Romans!" "Better to die like Christians," replied his commander; and, slowly turning his horse, he rode off in the direction of the royal army.*

He had not proceeded far, when he was met by an officer, to whom, after ascertaining his name and rank, Pizarro delivered up his sword, and yielded himself prisoner. The officer, overjoyed at his prize, conducted him, at once, to the president's quarters. Gasca was on horseback, surrounded by his captains, some of whom, when they recognized the person of the captive, had the grace to withdraw, that they might not witness his humiliation.† Even the best of them, with a sense of right on their side, may have felt some touch of compunction at the thought that their desertion had brought their benefactor to this condition.

Pizarro kept his seat in his saddle, but, as he approached, made a respectful obeisance to the president, which the latter acknowledged by a cold salute. Then, addressing his prisoner in a tone of severity, Gasca abruptly inquired,—"Why he had thrown the country into such confusion;—raising the banner of revolt; killing the viceroy; usurping the government; and obstinately refusing the offers of grace that had been repeatedly made him?"

Gonzalo attempted to justify himself by referring

* "Gonçalo Piçarro boluiendo el rostro á Juan de Acosta, que estaua cerca del, le dixo, 'Que haremos, hermano Juan?' Acosta, presumiendo mas de valiente que de discreto, respondió, 'Señor arremetamos, y muramos como los antiguos Romanos!' Gonçalo Piçarro dixo, 'Mejor es morir como Cristianos.'" Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxvi.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. vii.

† Garcilasso, Com. Real., ubi supra.

the fate of the viceroy to his misconduct, and his own usurpation, as it was styled, to the free election of the people, as well as that of the Royal Audience. "It was my family," he said, "who conquered the country; and, as their representative here, I felt I had a right to the government." To this Gasca replied, in a still severer tone, "Your brother did, indeed, conquer the land; and for this the emperor was pleased to raise both him and you from the dust. He lived and died a true and loyal subject; and it only makes your ingratitude to your sovereign the more heinous." Then, seeing his prisoner about to reply, the president cut short the conference, ordering him into close confinement. He was committed to the charge of Centeno, who had sought the office, not from any unworthy desire to gratify his revenge,—for he seems to have had a generous nature,—but for the honourable purpose of ministering to the comfort of the captive. Though held in strict custody by this officer, therefore, Pizarro was treated with the deference due to his rank, and allowed every indulgence by his keeper, except his freedom.*

In this general wreck of their fortunes, Francisco de Carbajal fared no better than his chief. As he saw the soldiers deserting their posts and going over to the enemy, one after another, he coolly hummed the words of his favourite old ballad,—

"The wind blows the hairs off my head, mother!"

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* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xc.

Historians, of course, report the dialogue between Gasca and his prisoner with some variety. See Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxv.— Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxvi. —Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

But when he found the field nearly empty, and his stout-hearted followers vanished like a wreath of smoke, he felt it was time to provide for his own safety. He knew there could be no favour for him; and, putting spurs to his horse, he betook himself to flight with all the speed he could make. He crossed the stream that flowed, as already mentioned, by the camp, but, in scaling the opposite bank, which was steep and stony, his horse, somewhat old, and oppressed by the weight of his rider, who was large and corpulent, lost his footing and fell with him into the water. Before he could extricate himself, Carbajal was seized by some of his own followers, who hoped, by such a prize, to make their peace with the victor, and hurried off towards the president's quarters.

The convoy was soon swelled by a number of the common file from the royal army, some of whom had long arrears to settle with the prisoner; and, not content with heaping reproaches and imprecations on his head, they now threatened to proceed to acts of personal violence, which Carbajal, far from deprecating, seemed rather to court, as the speediest way of ridding himself of life.* When he approached the president's quarters, Centeno, who was near, rebuked the disorderly rabble, and compelled them to give way. Carbajal, on seeing this, with a respectful air demanded to whom he was indebted for this courteous protection. To which his ancient comrade replied, "Do you not know me?—Diego Centeno!" "I crave your pardon," said the veteran, sarcastically alluding to

* "Luego llevaron antel dicho Licenciado Caravajal, maestre de campo del dicho Pizarro, i tan cercado de gentes que del havian sido ofendidas que le querian matar, el qual diz que mostrava que olgara que le matáran alli." Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

his long flight in the Charcas, and his recent defeat at Huarina; "it is so long since I have seen any thing but your back, that I had forgotten your face!"*

Among the president's suite was the martial bishop of Cuzco, who, it will be remembered had shared with Centeno in the disgrace of his defeat. His brother had been taken by Carbajal, in his flight from the field, and instantly hung up by that fierce chief, who, as we have had more than one occasion to see, was no respecter of persons. The bishop now reproached him with his brother's murder, and, incensed by his cool replies, was ungenerous enough to strike the prisoner on the face. Carbajal made no attempt at resistance. Nor would he return a word to the queries put to him by Gasca; but, looking haughtily round on the circle, maintained a contemptuous silence. The president, seeing that nothing further was to be gained from his captive, ordered him, together with Acosta, and the other cavaliers who had surrendered, into strict custody, until their fate should be decided.†

Gasca's next concern was to send an officer to Cuzco, to restrain his partisans from committing excesses in consequence of the late victory,—if victory that could be called, where not a blow had been

* "Diego Centeno reprehendia mucho á los que le offendian. Por lo qual Caruajal le miró, y le dixo, 'Señor, quien es vuestra merced que tanta merced me haze?' á lo qual Çenteno respondio, 'Que no conoce vuestra merced á Diego Centeño?' Dixo entonces Caruajal, 'Por Dios, Señor, que como siempre vi á vuestra merced de espaldas, que agora teniendo le de cara, no le conocia." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xc.

† Ibid., ubi supra.

It is but fair to state that Garcilasso, who was personally acquainted with the bishop of Cuzco, doubts the fact of the indecorous conduct imputed to him by Fernandez, as inconsistent with the prelate's character. Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxix.

struck. Every thing belonging to the vanquished, their tents, arms, ammunition, and military stores, became the property of the victors. Their camp was well victualled, furnishing a seasonable supply to the royalists, who had nearly expended their own stock of provisions. There was, moreover, considerable booty in the way of plate and money; for Pizarro's men, as was not uncommon in those turbulent times, went, many of them, to the war with the whole of their worldly wealth, not knowing of any safe place in which to bestow it. An anecdote is told of one of Gasca's soldiers, who, seeing a mule running over the field, with a large pack on his back, seized the animal, and mounted him, having first thrown away the burden, supposing it to contain armour, or something of little worth. Another soldier, more shrewd, picked up the parcel, as his share of the spoil, and found it contained several thousand gold ducats! It was the fortune of war.*

Thus terminated the battle, or rather rout, of Xaquixaguana. The number of killed and wounded—for some few perished in the pursuit—was not great, according to most accounts, not exceeding fifteen killed on the rebel side, and one only on that of the royalists! and that one, by the carelessness of a comrade.† Never was there a cheaper victory; so blood-

* Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. viii.

† "Temióse que en esta batalla muriria mucha gente de ambas partes por haver en ellas mill i quatrocientos arcabuceros, i seiscientos de caballo, i mucho numero de piqueros, i diez io cho piezas de artilleria; pero plugo á Dios que solo murió un hombre del campo de S. M. i quince de los contrarios como está dicho." Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

The MS. above referred to is supposed by Muñoz to have been written by Gasca, or rather dictated by him to his secretary. The original is preserved at Si-

less a termination of a fierce and bloody rebellion! It was gained not so much by the strength of the victors as by the weakness of the vanquished. They fell to pieces of their own accord, because they had no sure ground to stand on. The arm, not nerved by the sense of right, became powerless in the hour of battle. It was better that they should be thus overcome by moral force than by a brutal appeal to arms. Such a victory was more in harmony with the beneficent character of the conqueror and of his cause. It was the triumph of order; the best homage to law and justice.

mancas, without date, and in the character of the sixteenth century. It is principally taken up with the battle, and the events immediately connected with it; and although very brief, every sentence is of value as coming from so high a source. Alcedo, in his *Biblioteca Americana, MS.*, gives the title of a work from Gasca's pen, which would seem to be an account of his own administration, *Historia del Peru, y de su Pacification*, 1576, fol. —I have never met with the work, or with any other allusion to it.

CHAPTER IV.

Execution of Carbajal.—Gonzalo Pizarro beheaded.—Spoils of Victory —Wise Reforms by Gasca.—He returns to Spain.—His Death and Character.

1548—1550.

It was now necessary to decide on the fate of the prisoners; and Alonso de Alvarado, with the Licentiate Cianca, one of the new Royal Audience, was instructed to prepare the process. It did not require a long time. The guilt of the prisoners was too manifest, taken, as they had been, with arms in their hands. They were all sentenced to be executed, and their estates were confiscated to the use of the Crown. Gonzalo Pizarro was to be beheaded, and Carbajal to be drawn and quartered. No mercy was shewn to him who had shewn none to others. There was some talk of deferring the execution till the arrival of the troops in Cuzco; but the fear of disturbances from those friendly to Pizarro determined the president to carry the sentence into effect the following day, on the field of battle.*

When his doom was communicated to Carbajal, he heard it with his usual indifference. "They can

* The sentence passed upon Pizarro is given at length in the *manuscript* copy of Zarate's History, to which I have had occasion more than once to refer. The historian omitted it in his printed work; but the curious reader may find it entire, cited in the original, in *Appendix, No.* 14.

but kill me," he said, as if he had already settled the matter in his own mind.* During the day, many came to see him in his confinement; some to upbraid him with his cruelties; but most, from curiosity to see the fierce warrior who had made his name so terrible through the land. He shewed no unwillingness to talk with them, though it was in those sallies of caustic humour in which he usually indulged at the expense of his hearer. Among these visitors was a cavalier of no note, whose life, it appears, Carbajal had formerly spared, when in his power. This person expressed to the prisoner his strong desire to serve him; and as he reiterated his professions, Carbajal cut them short by exclaiming,—"And what service can you do me? Can you set me free? If you cannot do that, you can do nothing. If I spared your life, as you say, it was probably because I did not think it worth while to take it."

Some piously disposed persons urged him to see a priest, if it were only to unburden his conscience before leaving the world. "But of what use would that be?" asked Carbajal. "I have nothing that lies heavy on my conscience, unless it be, indeed, the debt of half a real to a shopkeeper in Seville, which I forgot to pay before leaving the country!"†

He was carried to execution on a hurdle, or rather in a basket, drawn by two mules. His arms were pinioned, and, as they forced his bulky body into this miserable conveyance, he exclaimed,—"Cradles

* "Basta matar." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xci.

† "En esso no tengo que confessar: porque juro á tal, que no tengo otro cargo, si no medio real que deuo en Seuilla á vna bodegonera de la puerta del Arenal, del tiempo que passé á Indias." Ibid. ubi supra.

for infants, and a cradle for the old man too, it seems!"* Notwithstanding the disinclination he had manifested to a confessor, he was attended by several ecclesiastics on his way to the gallows; and one of them repeatedly urged him to give some token of penitence at this solemn hour, if it were only by repeating the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria.* Carbajal, to rid himself of the ghostly father's importunity, replied by coolly repeating the words, "*Pater Noster*," "*Ave Maria!*". He then remained obstinately silent. He died, as he had lived, with a jest, or rather a scoff, upon his lips.†

Francisco de Carbajal was one of the most extraordinary characters of these dark and turbulent times; the more extraordinary from his great age; for, at the period of his death, he was in his eighty-fourth year;—an age when the bodily powers, and, fortunately, the passions, are usually blunted; when, in the witty words of the French moralist, "We flatter ourselves we are leaving our vices, whereas it is our vices that are leaving us."‡ But the fires of youth glowed fierce and unquenchable in the bosom of Carbajal.

The date of his birth carries us back towards the middle of the fifteenth century, before the times of Ferdinand and Isabella. He was of obscure parent-

* "Niño en cuna, y viejo en cuna." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xci.

† "Murió como gentil, porque dicen, que yo no le quise ver, que ansí le dí la palabra de no velle; mas á la postrer vez que me habló llevandole á matar le decia el sacerdote que con él iba, que se encomendase á Dios y dijese el Pater Noster y el Ave María, y dicen que dijo 'Pater Noster, Ave María,' y que no dijo otra palabra." Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq. MS.

‡ I quote from memory, but believe the reflection may be found in that admirable digest of worldly wisdom, "The Characters of La Bruyère."

age, and born, as it is said, at Arevalo. For forty years he served in the Italian wars, under the most illustrious captains of the day, Gonsalvo de Córdova, Navarro, and the Colonnas. He was an ensign at the battle of Ravenna; witnessed the capture of Francis the First at Pavia; and followed the banner of the ill-starred Bourbon at the sack of Rome. He got no gold for his share of the booty, on this occasion, but simply the papers of a notary's office, which, Carbajal shrewdly thought, would be worth gold to him. And so it proved; for the notary was fain to redeem them at a price which enabled the adventurer to cross the seas to Mexico, and seek his fortune in the New World. On the insurrection of the Peruvians, he was sent to the support of Francis Pizarro, and was rewarded by that chief with a grant of land in Cuzco. Here he remained for several years, busily employed in increasing his substance; for the love of lucre was a ruling passion in his bosom. On the arrival of Vaca de Castro, we find him doing good service under the royal banner; and at the breaking out of the great rebellion under Gonzalo Pizarro, he converted his property into gold, and prepared to return to Castile. He seemed to have a presentiment that to remain where he was would be fatal. But, although he made every effort to leave Peru, he was unsuccessful, for the viceroy had laid an embargo on the shipping.* He

* Pedro Pizarro bears testimony to Carbajal's endeavours to leave the country, in which he was aided, though ineffectually, by the chronicler, who was, at that time, in the most friendly relations with him. Civil war parted these ancient comrades; but Carbajal did not forget his obligations to Pedro Pizarro, which he afterwards repaid by exempting him on two different occasions from the general doom of the prisoners who fell into his hands.

remained in the country, therefore, and took service, as we have seen, though reluctantly, under Pizarro. It was his destiny.

The tumultuous life on which he now entered roused all the slumbering passions of his soul, which lay there, perhaps unconsciously to himself; cruelty, avarice, revenge. He found ample exercise for them in the war with his countrymen; for civil war is proverbially the most sanguinary and ferocious of all. The atrocities recorded of Carbajal, in his new career, and the number of his victims, are scarcely credible. For the honour of humanity, we may trust the accounts are greatly exaggerated; but that he should have given rise to them at all is sufficient to consign his name to infamy.*

He even took a diabolical pleasure, it is said, in amusing himself with the sufferings of his victims, and in the hour of execution would give utterance to frightful jests, that made them taste more keenly the bitterness of death! He had a sportive vein, if such it could be called, which he freely indulged on every occasion. Many of his sallies were preserved by the soldiery; but they are for the most part, of a coarse, repulsive character, flowing from a mind familiar with the weak and wicked side of humanity, and distrusting every other. He had his jest for every thing,—for the misfortunes of others, and for his own. He looked on life as a farce,—though he too often made it a tragedy.

* Out of three hundred and forty executions, according to Fernandez, three hundred were by Carbajal. (Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xci.) Zarate swells the number of these executions to five hundred. (Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. i.) The discrepancy shews how little we can confide in the accuracy of such estimates.

Carbajal must be allowed one virtue; that of fidelity to his party. This made him less tolerant of perfidy in others. He was never known to shew mercy to a renegade. This undeviating fidelity, though to a bad cause, may challenge something like a feeling of respect, where fidelity was so rare.*

As a military man, Carbajal takes a high rank among the soldiers of the New World. He was strict, even severe, in enforcing discipline, so that he was little loved by his followers. Whether he had the genius for military combinations requisite for conducting war on an extended scale may be doubted; but in the shifts and turns of guerilla warfare he was unrivalled. Prompt, active, and persevering, he was insensible to danger or fatigue, and, after days spent in the saddle, seemed to attach little value to the luxury of a bed.†

He knew familiarly every mountain pass, and, such were the sagacity and the resources displayed in his roving expeditions, that he was vulgarly believed to be attended by a *familiar*.‡ With a character so

* Fidelity, indeed, is but one of many virtues claimed for Carbajal by Garcilasso, who considers most of the tales of cruelty and avarice circulated of the veteran, as well as the hardened levity imputed to him in his latter moments, as inventions of his enemies. The Inca chronicler was a boy when Gonzalo and his chivalry occupied Cuzco; and the kind treatment he experienced from them, owing, doubtless, to his father's position in the rebel army, he has well repaid by depicting their portraits in the favourable colours in which they appeared to his young imagination. But the garrulous old man has recorded several individual instances of atrocity in the career of Carbajal, which form but an indifferent commentary on the correctness of his general assertions in respect to his character.

† "Fue maior sufridor de trabajos que requeria su edad, porque á maravilla se quitaba las Armas de dia ni de noche; i quando era necesario, tampoco se acostaba ni dormia mas de quanto recostado en vna silla, se le cansaba la mano en que arrimaba la cabeça." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. v. cap. xiv.

‡ Pedro Pizarro, who seems to

extraordinary, with powers prolonged so far beyond the usual term of humanity, and passions so fierce in one tottering on the verge of the grave, it was not surprising that many fabulous stories should be eagerly circulated respecting him, and that Carbajal should be clothed with mysterious terrours as a sort of supernatural being,—the demon of the Andes!

Very different were the circumstances attending the closing scene of Gonzalo Pizarro. At his request, no one had been allowed to visit him in his confinement. He was heard pacing his tent during the greater part of the day, and when night came, having ascertained from Centeno that his execution was to take place on the following noon, he laid himself down to rest. He did not sleep long, however, but soon rose, and continued to traverse his apartment, as if buried in meditation, till dawn. He then sent for a confessor, and remained with him till after the hour of noon, taking little or no refreshment. The officers of justice became impatient; but their eagerness was sternly rebuked by the soldiery, many of whom, having served under Gonzalo's banner, were touched with pity for his misfortunes.

When the chieftain came forth to execution, he shewed in his dress the same love of magnificence and display as in happier days. Over his doublet he wore a superb cloak of yellow velvet, stiff with gold embroidery, while his head was protected by a

have entertained feelings not unfriendly to Carbajal, thus sums up his character in a few words. "Era mui lenguaz: hablada muy discreptamente y á gusto de los que le oian: era hombre sagaz, cruel, bien entendido en la guerra. . . . . Este Carbajal era tan sabio que decian tenia familiar." Descub. y Conq., MS.

cap of the same materials, richly decorated, in like manner, with ornaments of gold.* In this gaudy attire he mounted his mule, and the sentence was so far relaxed that his arms were suffered to remain unshackled. He was escorted by a goodly number of priests and friars, who held up the crucifix before his eyes, while he carried in his own hand an image of the Virgin. She had ever been the peculiar object of Pizarro's devotion; so much so, that those who knew him best in the hour of his prosperity were careful, when they had a petition, to prefer it in the name of the blessed Mary.

Pizarro's lips were frequently pressed to the emblem of his divinity, while his eyes were bent on the crucifix in apparent devotion, heedless of the objects around him. On reaching the scaffold, he ascended it with a firm step, and asked leave to address a few words to the soldiery gathered round it. "There are many among you," said he, "who have grown rich on my brother's bounty and my own. Yet, of all my riches, nothing remains to me but the garments I have on; and even these are not mine, but the property of the executioner. I am without means, therefore, to purchase a mass for the welfare of my soul; and I implore you, by the remembrance of past benefits, to extend this charity to me when I am gone, that it may be well with you in the hour of death." A profound silence reigned throughout the martial multitude, broken only by sighs and

* "Al tiempo que lo mataron, dió al verdugo toda la ropa que traía, que era mui rica i de mucho valor, porque tenia vna ropa de armas de terciopelo amarillo, casi toda cubierta de chaperia de oro, i vn chapeo de la misma, forma." Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. viii.

groans, as they listened to Pizarro's request; and it was faithfully responded to, since, after his death, masses were said in many of the towns for the welfare of the departed chieftain.

Then, kneeling down before a crucifix placed on a table, Pizarro remained for some minutes absorbed in prayer; after which, addressing the soldier who was to act as the minister of justice, he calmly bade him "do his duty with a steady hand." He refused to have his eyes bandaged, and, bending forward his neck, submitted it to the sword of the executioner, who struck off the head with a single blow, so true that the body remained for some moments in the same erect posture as in life.* The head was taken to Lima, where it was set in a cage or frame, and then fixed on a gibbet by the side of Carbajal's. On it was placed a label, bearing,—"This is the head of the traitor Gonzalo Pizarro, who rebelled in Peru against his sovereign, and battled in the cause of tyranny and treason against the royal standard in the valley of Xaquixaguana."† His large estates, including the rich mines in Potosí, were confiscated; his mansion in Lima was razed to the ground, the place strewed with salt, and a stone pillar set up,

* "The executioner," says Garcilasso, with a simile more expressive than elegant, "did his work as cleanly as if he had been slicing off a head of lettuce!" "De vn reues le cortó la cabeça con tanta facilidad, como si fuera vna hoja de lechuga, y se quedó con ella en la mano, y tardó el cuerpo algun espacio en caer en el suelo." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xliii.

† "Esta es la cabeza del traidor de Gonzalo Pizarro, que se hizo justicia del en el valle de Aquixaguana, donde dió la batalla campal contra el estandarte real, queriendo defender su traicion e tirania: ninguno sea osado de la quitar de aqui, so pena de muerte natural." Zarate, MS.

with an inscription interdicting any one from building on a spot which had been profaned by the residence of a traitor.

Gonzalo's remains were not exposed to the indignities inflicted on Carbajal's, whose quarters were hung in chains on the four great roads leading to Cuzco. Centeno saved Pizarro's body from being stripped, by redeeming his costly raiment from the executioner, and in this sumptuous shroud it was laid in the chapel of the convent of Our Lady of Mercy in Cuzco. It was the same spot where, side by side, lay the bloody remains of the Almagros, father and son, who in like manner had perished by the hand of justice, and were indebted to private charity for their burial. All these were now consigned "to the same grave," says the historian, with some bitterness, "as if Peru could not afford land enough for a burial-place to its conquerors." *

Gonzalo Pizarro had reached only his forty-second year at the time of his death—being just half the space allotted to his follower Carbajal. He was the youngest of the remarkable family to whom Spain was indebted for the acquisition of Peru. He came over to the country with his brother Francisco, on the return of the latter from his visit to Castile. Gonzalo was present in all the remarkable passages

* "Y las sepolturas vna sola auiendo de ser tres: que aun la tierra parece que les faltó para auer los de cubrir." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xliii.

For the tragic particulars of the preceding pages, see Ibid., cap. xxxix.—xliii.—Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.—Carta de Valdivia, MS.—MS. de Caravantes.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxvi.—Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xci.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. viii.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. iv. cap. xvi.

of the Conquest. He witnessed the seizure of Atahuallpa, took an active part in suppressing the insurrection of the Incas, and especially in the reduction of Charcas. He afterwards led the disastrous expedition to the Amazon; and, finally, headed the memorable rebellion which ended so fatally to himself. There are but few men whose lives abound in such wild and romantic adventure, and, for the most part, crowned with success. The space which he occupies in the page of history is altogether disproportioned to his talents. It may be in some measure ascribed to fortune, but still more to those showy qualities which form a sort of substitute for mental talent, and which secured his popularity with the vulgar.

He had a brilliant exterior; excelled in all martial exercises; rode well, fenced well, managed his lance to perfection, was a first-rate marksman with the arquebuse, and added the accomplishment of being an excellent draughtsman. He was bold and chivalrous, even to temerity; courted adventure, and was always in the front of danger. He was a knight-errant, in short, in the most extravagant sense of the term, and, "mounted on his favourite charger," says one who had often seen him, "made no more account of a squadron of Indians than of a swarm of flies." *

While thus, by his brilliant exploits and showy manners, he captivated the imaginations of his countrymen, he won their hearts no less by his soldier-like frankness, his trust in their fidelity—too often

* "Quando Gonçalo Pizarro, que aya gloria, se veya en su zaynillo, no hazia mas caso de esquadrones de Yndios, que si fueran de moscas." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xliii.

abused—and his liberal largesses; for Pizarro, though avaricious of the property of others, was, like the Roman conspirator, prodigal of his own. This was his portrait in happier days, when his heart had not been corrupted by success; for that some change was wrought on him by his prosperity is well attested. His head was made giddy by his elevation; and it is proof of a want of talent equal to his success, that he knew not how to profit by it. Obeying the dictates of his own rash judgment, he rejected the warnings of his wisest counsellors, and relied with blind confidence on his destiny. Garcilasso imputes this to the malignant influence of the stars.* But the superstitious chronicler might have better explained it by a common principle of human nature; by the presumption nourished by success; the insanity, as the Roman, or rather Grecian, proverb calls it, with which the gods afflict men when they design to ruin them.†

Gonzalo was without education, except such as he had picked up in the rough school of war. He had little even of that wisdom which springs from natural shrewdness and insight into character. In all this he was inferior to his elder brothers, although he fully equalled them in ambition. Had he possessed a tithe of their sagacity, he would not have madly persisted in rebellion, after the coming of the president. Be-

* "Dezian que no era falta de entendimiento, pues lo tenia bastante, sino que deuia de ser sobra de influencia de signos y planetas, que le cegauan y forcauan á que pusiesse la garganta al cuchillo." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. xxxiii.

† "Ὅταν δὲ Δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακὰ,
Τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον."
Eurip. Fragmenta.

fore this period, he represented the people. Their interests and his were united. He had their support, for he was contending for the redress of their wrongs. When these were redressed by the government, there was nothing to contend for. From that time, he was battling only for himself. The people had no part nor interest in the contest. Without a common sympathy to bind them together, was it strange that they should fall off from him, like leaves in winter, and leave him exposed, a bare and sapless trunk, to the fury of the tempest?

Cepeda, more criminal than Pizarro, since he had both superior education and intelligence, which he employed only to mislead his commander, did not long survive him. He had come to the country in an office of high responsibility. His first step was to betray the viceroy whom he was sent to support; his next was to betray the Audience with whom he should have acted; and lastly, he betrayed the leader whom he most affected to serve. His whole career was treachery to his own government. His life was one long perfidy.

After his surrender, several of the cavaliers, disgusted at his cold-blooded apostacy, would have persuaded Gasca to send him to execution along with his commander; but the president refused, in consideration of the signal service he had rendered the Crown by his defection. He was put under arrest, however, and sent to Castile. There he was arraigned for high treason. He made a plausible defence, and as he had friends at Court, it is not improbable he would have been acquitted; but, before

the trial was terminated, he died in prison. It was the retributive justice not always to be found in the affairs of this world.*

Indeed, it so happened, that several of those who had been most forward to abandon the cause of Pizarro survived their commander but a short time. The gallant Centeno, and the Licentiate Carbajal, who deserted him near Lima, and bore the royal standard on the field of Xaquixaguana, both died within a year after Pizarro. Hinojosa was assassinated but two years later in La Plata; and his old comrade Valdivia, after a series of brilliant exploits in Chili, which furnished her most glorious theme to the Epic Muse of Castile, was cut off by the invincible warriors of Arauco. The Manes of Pizarro were amply avenged.

Acosta, and three or four other cavaliers who surrendered with Gonzalo, were sent to execution on the same day with their chief; and Gasca, on the morning following the dismal tragedy, broke up his quarters and marched with his whole army to Cuzco, where he was received by the politic people with the same enthusiasm which they had so recently shewn to his rival. He found there a number of the rebel army who had taken refuge in the city after their late defeat, where they were immediately placed under arrest. Proceedings, by Gasca's command, were in-

* The cunning lawyer prepared so plausible an argument in his own justification, that Yllescas, the celebrated historian of the Popes, declares that no one who read the paper attentively, but must rise from the perusal of it with an entire conviction of the writer's innocence, and of his unshaken loyalty to the Crown. See the passage quoted by Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. vi. cap. x.

stituted against them. The principal cavaliers, to the number of ten of twelve, were executed; others were banished or sent to the galleys. The same rigorous decrees were passed against such as had fled and were not yet taken; and the estates of all were confiscated. The estates of the rebels supplied a fund for the recompense of the loyal.* The execution of justice may seem to have been severe; but Gasca was willing that the rod should fall heavily on those who had so often rejected his proffers of grace. Lenity was wasted on a rude licentious soldiery, who hardly recognized the existence of government, unless they felt its rigour.

A new duty now devolved on the president—that of rewarding his faithful followers—not less difficult, as it proved, than that of punishing the guilty. The applicants were numerous; since every one who had raised a finger in behalf of the government claimed his reward. They urged their demands with a clamorous importunity which perplexed the good president, and consumed every moment of his time.

Disgusted with this unprofitable state of things, Gasca resolved to rid himself of the annoyance at once, by retiring to the valley of Guaynarima, about twelve leagues distant from the city, and there digesting, in quiet, a scheme of compensation, adjusted to the merits of the parties. He was accompanied only by his secretary, and by Loaysa, now Archbishop of Lima, a man of sense, and well acquainted with

* Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xci. —Carta de Valdivia, MS.—Zarate, Conq., del Peru, lib. vii. cap. viii. — Relacion del Lic. Gasca, MS.

the affairs of the country. In this seclusion the president remained three months, making a careful examination into the conflicting claims, and apportioning the forfeitures among the parties according to their respective services. The *repartimientos*, it should be remarked, were usually granted only for life, and, on the death of the incumbent, reverted to the Crown, to be re-assigned or retained at its pleasure.

When his arduous task was completed, Gasca determined to withdraw to Lima, leaving the instrument of partition with the archbishop, to be communicated to the army. Notwithstanding all the care that had been taken for an equitable adjustment, Gasca was aware that it was impossible to satisfy the demands of a jealous and irritable soldiery, where each man would be likely to exaggerate his own deserts, while he underrated those of his comrades; and he did not care to expose himself to importunities and complaints that could serve no other purpose than to annoy him.

On his departure, the troops were called together by the archbishop in the cathedral, to learn the contents of the schedule intrusted to him. A discourse was first preached by a worthy Dominican, the prior of Arequipa, in which the reverend father expatiated on the virtue of contentment, the duty of obedience, and the folly, as well as wickedness, of an attempt to resist the constituted authorities—topics, in short, which he conceived might best conciliate the good-will and conformity of his audience.

A letter from the president was then read from the pulpit. It was addressed to the officers and soldiers of the army. The writer began with briefly

exposing the difficulties of his task, owing to the limited amount of the gratuities, and the great number and services of the claimants. He had given the matter the most careful consideration, he said, and endeavoured to assign to each his share, according to his deserts, without prejudice or partiality. He had, no doubt, fallen into errors, but he trusted his followers would excuse them, when they reflected that he had done according to the best of his poor abilities; and all, he believed, would do him the justice to acknowledge he had not been influenced by motives of personal interest. He bore emphatic testimony to the services they had rendered to the good cause, and concluded with the most affectionate wishes for their future prosperity and happiness. The letter was dated at Guaynarima, August 17, 1548, and bore the simple signature of the Licentiate Gasca.*

The archbishop next read the paper containing the president's award. The annual rent of the estates to be distributed amounted to a hundred and thirty thousand *pesos ensayados*;† a large amount, considering the worth of money in that day—in any other country than Peru, where money was a drug.‡

* MS. de Caravantes.—Pedro Pizarro, Descub. y Conq., MS.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. ix. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xcii.

† The *peso ensayado*, according to Garcilasso, was one-fifth more in value than the Castilian ducat. Com. Real., parte ii. lib. vi. cap. iii.

‡ "Entre los cavalleros capitanes y soldados que le ayudaron en esta ocasion repartió el Presidente Pedro de la Gasca 135,000 pesos ensayados de renta que estaban vacos, y no un millon y tantos mil pesos, como dize Diego Fernandez, que escrivió en Palencia estas alteraciones, y de quien lo tomó Antonio de Herrera: y porque esta ocasion fué la segunda en que los benemeritos del Pirú fundan con razon los servicios de sus pasados, porque mediante esta batalla aseguro la corona de Castilla las provincias

The *repartimientos* thus distributed varied in value from one hundred to thirty-five hundred *pesos* of yearly rent; all, apparently, graduated with the nicest precision to the merits of the parties. The number of pensioners was about two hundred and fifty; for the fund would not have sufficed for general distribution, nor were the services of the greater part deemed worthy of such a mark of consideration.*

The effect produced by the document, on men whose minds were filled with the most indefinite expectations, was just such as had been anticipated by the president. It was received with a general murmur of disapprobation. Even those who had got more than they expected, were discontented, on com-

mas ricas que tiene en America, pondré sus nombres para que se conserbe con certeza su memoria como pareze en el auto original que proveyó en el asiento de Guainarima cerca de la ciudad del Cuzco en diez y siete de Agosto de 1548, que está en los archivos del govierno." MS. de Caravantes.

The sum mentioned in the text, as thus divided among the army, falls very far short of the amount stated by Garcilasso, Fernandez, Zarate, and, indeed, every other writer on the subject, none of whom estimate it at less than a million of *pesos*. But Caravantes, from whom I have taken it, copies the original act of partition preserved in the royal archives. Yet Garcilasso de la Vega ought to have been well informed of the value of these estates, which, according to him, far exceeded the estimate given in the schedule. Thus, for instance, Hinojosa, he says, obtained from the share of lands and rich mines assigned to him from the property of Gonzalo Pizarro no less than 200,000 *pesos* annually, while Aldana, the Licentiate Carbajal, and others, had estates which yielded them from 10,000 to 50,000 *pesos*. (Ibid., ubi supra.) It is impossible to reconcile these monstrous discrepancies. No sum seems to have been too large for the credulity of the ancient chronicler; and the imagination of the reader is so completely bewildered by the actual riches of this El Dorado, that it is difficult to adjust his faith by any standard of probability.

* Caravantes has transcribed from the original act a full catalogue of the pensioners, with the amount of the sums set against each of their names.

paring their condition with that of their comrades, whom they thought still better remunerated in proportion to their deserts. They especially inveighed against the preference shewn to the old partisans of Gonzalo Pizarro—as Hinojosa, Centeno, and Aldana —over those who had always remained loyal to the Crown. There was some ground for such a preference; for none had rendered so essential services in crushing the rebellion; and it was these services that Gasca proposed to recompense. To reward every man who had proved himself loyal, simply for his loyalty, would have frittered away the donative into fractions that would be of little value to any.*

It was in vain, however, that the archbishop, seconded by some of the principal cavaliers, endeavoured to infuse a more contented spirit into the multitude. They insisted that the award should be rescinded, and a new one made on more equitable principles; threatening, moreover, that, if this were not done by the president, they would take the redress of the matter into their own hands. Their discontent, fomented by some mischievous persons who thought to find their account in it, at length proceeded so far as to menace a mutiny; and it was not suppressed till the commander of Cuzco sentenced one of the ringleaders to death, and several others to banishment. The iron soldiery of the Conquest required an iron hand to rule them.

* The president found an ingenious way of remunerating several of his followers, by bestowing on them the hands of the rich widows of the cavaliers who had perished in the war. The inclinations of the ladies do not seem to have been always consulted in this politic arrangement. See Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. vi. cap. iii.

Meanwhile, the president had continued his journey towards Lima; and on the way was everywhere received by the people with an enthusiasm, the more grateful to his heart that he felt he had deserved it. As he drew near the capital, the loyal inhabitants prepared to give him a magnificent reception. The whole population came forth from the gates, led by the authorities of the city, with Aldana as corregidor at their head. Gasca rode on a mule dressed in his ecclesiastical robes. On his right, borne on a horse richly caparisoned, was the royal seal, in a box curiously chased and ornamented. A gorgeous canopy of brocade was supported above his head by the officers of the municipality, who, in their robes of crimson velvet, walked bareheaded by his side. Gay troops of dancers, clothed in fantastic dresses of gaudy-coloured silk, followed the procession, strewing flowers and chaunting verses as they went, in honour of the president. They were designed as emblematical of the different cities of the colony; and they bore legends or mottoes in rhyme on their caps, intimating their loyal devotion to the Crown, and evincing much more loyalty in their composition, it may be added, than poetical merit.* In this way, without beat of drum, or noise of artillery, or any of the rude accompaniments of war, the good president made his peaceful entry into the City of the Kings, while the air was rent with the acclamations of the people, who hailed him as their "Father and Deliverer, the Saviour of their country!"†

* Fernandez has collected these flowers of colonial poesy, which prove that the old Conquerors were much more expert with the sword than with the pen. Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xciii.

† "Fue recibimiento mui solemne, con universal alegria del

But, however grateful was this homage to Gasca's heart, he was not a man to waste his time in idle vanities. He now thought only by what means he could eradicate the seeds of disorder which shot up so readily in this fruitful soil, and how he could place the authority of the government on a permanent basis. By virtue of his office, he presided over the Royal Audience, the great judicial, and, indeed, executive tribunal of the colony; and he gave great despatch to the business, which had much accumulated during the late disturbances. In the unsettled state of property, there was abundant subject for litigation; but, fortunately, the new Audience was composed of able, upright judges, who laboured diligently with their chief to correct the mischief caused by the misrule of their predecessors.

Neither was Gasca unmindful of the unfortunate natives; and he occupied himself earnestly with that difficult problem,—the best means practicable of ameliorating their condition. He sent a number of commissioners, as visitors, into different parts of the country, whose business it was to inspect the *encomiendas*, and ascertain the manner in which the Indians were treated, by conversing not only with the proprietors, but with the natives themselves. They were also to learn the nature and extent of the tributes paid in former times by the vassals of the Incas.*

pueblo, por verse libere de tiranos; i toda la gente, á voces, bendecia al Presidente, i le llamaban Padre, Restaurador, i Pacificador, dando gracias á Dios, por haver vengado las injurias hechas á su Divina Magestad." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. iv. cap. xvii.

* "El Presidente Gasca mando visitar todas las provincias y repartimientos deste reyno, nom-

In this way, a large amount of valuable information was obtained, which enabled Gasca, with the aid of a council of ecclesiastics and jurists, to digest a uniform system of taxation for the natives, lighter even than that imposed on them by the Peruvian princes. The president would gladly have relieved the conquered races from the obligations of personal service; but, on mature consideration, this was judged impracticable in the present state of the country, since the colonists, more especially in the tropical regions, looked to the natives for the performance of labour, and the latter, it was found from experience would not work at all, unless compelled to do so. The president, however, limited the amount of service to be exacted with great precision, so that it was in the nature of a moderate personal tax. No Peruvian was to be required to change his place of residence, from the climate to which he had been accustomed, to another; a fruitful source of discomfort, as well as of disease, in past times. By these various regulations, the condition of the natives, though not such as had been contemplated by the sanguine philanthropy of Las Casas, was improved far more than was compatible with the craving demands of the colonists; and all the firmness of the Audience was required to enforce provisions so unpalatable to the latter. Still they were enforced. Slavery, in its most odious sense, was no longer toler-

brando para ello personas de autoridad, y de quien se tenia entendido que tenian conoscimiento de la tierra que se les encargavan, que ha de ser la principal calidad, que se ha buscar en la persona, á quien se compete semejante negocio despues que sea Cristiana: lo segundo se les dio instruccion de lo que hauian de averiguar, que fueron muchas cosas: el numero, las haciendas, los tratos y grangerias, la calidad de la gente y de sus tierras y comarca, y lo que davan de tributo." Ondegardo, Rel. Prim., MS.

ated in Peru. The term "slave" was not recognized as having relation to her institutions; and the historian of the Indies makes the proud boast, — it should have been qualified by the limitations I have noticed,—that every Indian vassal might aspire to the rank of a freeman.*

Besides these reforms, Gasca introduced several in the municipal government of the cities, and others yet more important in the management of the finances, and in the mode of keeping the accounts. By these and other changes in the internal economy of the colony, he placed the administration on a new basis, and greatly facilitated the way for a more sure and orderly government by his successors. As a final step, to secure the repose of the country after he was gone, he detached some of the more aspiring cavaliers on distant expeditions, trusting that they would draw off the light and restless spirits, who might otherwise gather together and disturb the public tranquillity; as we sometimes see the mists which have been scattered by the genial influence of the sun become condensed, and settle into a storm, on his departure.†

Gasca had been now more than fifteen months in Lima, and nearly three years had elapsed since his first entrance into Peru. In that time, he had accomplished the great objects of his mission. When he landed, he found the colony in a state of anarchy, or

* "El Presidente i el audiencia dieron tales ordenes, que este negocio se asentó, de manera que para adelante no se platicó mas este nombre de esclavos, sino que la libertad fue general por todo el reino." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. v. cap. vii.

† MS. de Caravantes. — Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxvii.— Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xciii.— xcv.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. x.

rather organized rebellion under a powerful and popular chief. He came without funds or forces to support him. The former he procured through the credit which he established in his good faith; the latter he won over by argument and persuasion from the very persons to whom they had been confided by his rival. Thus he turned the arms of that rival against himself. By a calm appeal to reason he wrought a change in the hearts of the people; and without costing a drop of blood to a single loyal subject, he suppressed a rebellion which had menaced Spain with the loss of the wealthiest of her provinces. He had punished the guilty, and in their spoils found the means to recompense the faithful. He had, moreover, so well husbanded the resources of the country, that he was enabled to pay off the large loan he had negotiated with the merchants of the colony, for the expenses of the war, exceeding nine hundred thousand *pesos de oro*.* Nay, more, by his economy he had saved a million and a half of ducats for the government, which for some years had received nothing from Peru; and he now proposed to carry back this acceptable treasure to swell the royal coffers.† All this had been accomplished without the cost of outfit or salary, or any charge to the Crown except that of his own frugal expenditure.‡ The country was now in a state of

* "Recogió tanta suma de dinero, que pagó novecientos mil pesos de oro, que se halló haver gastado, desde el dia que entró en Panamá, hasta que se acabó la guerra, los quales tomó prestados." Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. v. cap. vii.—Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. x.

† "Aviendo pagado el Presidente las costas de la guerra, que fueron muchas, remitió á S. M. y lo llevó consigo 264,422 marcos de plata, que á seis ducados valieron 1,588,332 ducados." MS. de Caravantes.

‡ "No tubo ni quiso salario el Presidente Gasca sino cedula para

tranquillity. Gasca felt that his work was done; and that he was free to gratify his natural longing to return to his native land.

Before his departure, he arranged a distribution of those *repartimientos* which had lapsed to the Crown during the past year by the death of the incumbents. Life was short in Peru; since those who lived by the sword, if they did not die by the sword, too often fell early victims to the hardships incident to their adventurous career. Many were the applicants for the new bounty of government; and, as among them were some of those who had been discontented with the former partition, Gasca was assailed by remonstrances, and sometimes by reproaches couched in no very decorous or respectful language. But they had no power to disturb his equanimity; he patiently listened, and replied to all in the mild tone of expostulation best calculated to turn away wrath; "by this victory over himself," says an old writer, "acquiring more real glory, than by all his victories over his enemies."*

An incident occurred on the eve of his departure, touching in itself, and honourable to the parties concerned. The Indian caciques of the neighbouring country, mindful of the great benefits he had rendered their people, presented him with a considerable quantity of plate in token of their gratitude. But Gasca

que á un mayordomo suyo diosen los oficiales reales lo necesario de la real hacienda, que como pareze de los quadernos de su gasto fué muy moderado." (MS. de Caravantes.) Gasca, it appears, was most exact in keeping the accounts of his disbursements for the expenses of himself and household, from the time he embarked for the colonies.

* "En lo qual hizo mas que en vencer y ganar todo aquel ymperio: porque fue vencerse assi proprio." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. vi. cap. vii.

refused to receive it, though in doing so he gave much concern to the Peruvians, who feared they had unwittingly fallen under his displeasure.

Many of the principal colonists, also, from the same wish to shew their sense of his important services, sent to him, after he had embarked, a magnificent donative of fifty thousand gold *castellanos*. "As he had taken leave of Peru," they said, "there could be no longer any ground for declining it." But Gasca was as decided in his rejection of this present, as he had been of the other. "He had come to the country," he remarked, "to serve the king, and to secure the blessings of peace to the inhabitants; and now that, by the favour of Heaven, he had been permitted to accomplish this, he would nor dishonour the cause by any act that might throw suspicion on the purity of his motives." Notwithstanding his refusal, the colonists contrived to secrete the sum of twenty thousand *castellanos* on board of his vessel, with the idea, that, once in his own country, with his mission concluded, the president's scruples would be removed. Gasca did, indeed, accept the donative; for he felt that it would be ungracious to send it back; but it was only till he could ascertain the relatives of the donors, when he distributed it among the most needy.*

Having now settled all his affairs, the president committed the government, until the arrival of a viceroy, to his faithful partners of the Royal Audience; and in January, 1550, he embarked with the royal treasure on board of a squadron for Panamá. He was accompanied to the shore by a numerous crowd of the inhabitants, cavaliers, and common people, persons

* Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xcv.

of all ages and conditions, who followed to take their last look of their benefactor, and watch with straining eyes the vessel that bore him away from their land.

His voyage was prosperous, and early in March the president reached his destined port. He stayed there only till he could muster horses and mules sufficient to carry the treasure across the mountains; for he knew that this part of the country abounded in wild, predatory spirits, who would be sorely tempted to some act of violence by a knowledge of the wealth which he had with him. Pushing forward, therefore, he crossed the rugged isthmus, and, after a painful march, arrived in safety at Nombre de Dios.

The event justified his apprehensions. He had been gone but three days, when a ruffian horde, after murdering the bishop of Guatemala, broke into Panamá with the design of inflicting the same fate on the president, and of seizing the booty. No sooner were the tidings communicated to Gasca, than, with his usual energy, he levied a force, and prepared to march to the relief of the invaded capital. But Fortune—or, to speak more correctly, Providence—favoured him here, as usual; and, on the eve of his departure, he learned that the marauders had been met by the citizens, and discomfited with great slaughter. Disbanding his forces, therefore, he equipped a fleet of nineteen vessels to transport himself and the royal treasure to Spain, where he arrived in safety, entering the harbour of Seville after a little more than four years from the period when he had sailed from the same port.*

* MS. de Caravantes. — Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxiii. — Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte ii. lib. i. cap. x.—

Great was the sensation throughout the country caused by his arrival. Men could hardly believe that results so momentous had been accomplished in so short a time by a single individual,—a poor ecclesiastic, who, unaided by government, had, by his own strength, as it were, put down a rebellion which had so long set the arms of Spain at defiance!

The emperor was absent in Flanders. He was overjoyed on learning the complete success of Gasca's mission; and not less satisfied with the tidings of the treasure he had brought with him; for the exchequer, rarely filled to overflowing, had been exhausted by the recent troubles in Germany. Charles instantly wrote to the president, requiring his presence at Court, that he might learn from his own lips the particulars of his expedition. Gasca, accordingly, attended by a numerous retinue of nobles and cavaliers,—for who does not pay homage to him whom the king delighteth to honour?—embarked at Barcelona, and, after a favourable voyage, joined the Court in Flanders.

He was received by his royal master, who fully appreciated his services, in a manner most grateful to his feelings; and not long afterward he was raised to the bishopric of Palencia,—a mode of acknowledgment best suited to his character and deserts. Here he remained till 1561, when he was promoted to the vacant see of Siguenza. The rest of his days he passed peacefully in the discharge of his episcopal functions; honoured by his sovereign, and enjoying the admiration and respect of his countrymen.*

Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. xiii.—Herrera, Hist. General, dec. viii. lib. vi. cap. xvii.

* Ibid., ubi supra.—MS. de Caravantes.—Gomara, Hist. de las Indias, cap. clxxxii.—Fernan-

In his retirement he was still consulted by the government in matters of importance relating to the Indies. The disturbances of that unhappy land were renewed, though on a much smaller scale than before, soon after the president's departure. They were chiefly caused by discontent with the *repartimientos*, and with the constancy of the Audience in enforcing the benevolent restrictions as to the personal services of the natives. But these troubles subsided, after a very few years, under the wise rule of the Mendozas, —two successive viceroys of that illustrious house which has given so many of its sons to the service of Spain. Under their rule, the mild yet determined policy was pursued, of which Gasca had set the example. The ancient distractions of the country were permanently healed. With peace, prosperity returned within the borders of Peru; and the consciousness of the beneficent results of his labours may have shed a ray of satisfaction, as it did of glory, over the evening of the president's life.

That life was brought to a close in November, 1567, at an age, probably, not far from the one fixed by the sacred writer as the term of human existence.* He died at Valladolid, and was buried in the church of Santa Maria Magdalena, in that city, which he had built and liberally endowed. His monument, surmounted by the sculptured effigy of a priest in his

dez, Hist. del Peru, parte ii. lib. i. cap. x. — Zarate, Conq. del Peru, lib. vii. cap. xiii.

* I have met with no account of the year in which Gasca was born; but an inscription on his portrait in the sacristy of St. Mary Magdalene at Valladolid, from which the engraving prefixed to this volume is taken, states that he died in 1567, at the age of seventy-one. This is perfectly consistent with the time of life at which he had probably arrived when we find him a collegiate at Salamanca, in the year 1522.

sacerdotal robes, is still to be seen there, attracting the admiration of the traveller by the beauty of its execution. The banners taken from Gonzalo Pizarro on the field of Xaquixaguana were suspended over his tomb, as the trophies of his memorable mission to Peru.* The banners have long since mouldered into dust, with the remains of him who slept beneath them; but the memory of his good deeds will endure for ever.†

Gasca was plain in person, and his countenance was far from comely. He was awkward and ill-proportioned, for his limbs were too long for his body,—so that when he rode he appeared to be much shorter than he really was.‡ His dress was humble, his manners simple, and there was nothing imposing in his presence. But, on a nearer intercourse, there was a charm in his discourse that effaced every unfavourable impression produced by his exterior, and won the hearts of his hearers.

* "Murió en Valladolid, donde mandó enterrar su cuerpo en la iglesia de la advocacion de la Magdalena, que hizo edificar en aquella ciudad, donde se pusieron las vanderas que ganó á Gonzalo Pizarro." MS. de Caravantes.

† The memory of his achievements has not been left entirely to the care of the historian. It is but a few years since the character and administration of Gasca formed the subject of an elaborate panegyric from one of the most distinguished statesmen in the British parliament. (See Lord Brougham's speech on the maltreatment of the North American colonies, February 1838.) The enlightened Spaniard of our day, who contemplates with sorrow the excesses committed by his countrymen of the sixteenth century in the New World, may feel an honest pride, that in this company of dark spirits should be found one to whom the present generation may turn as to the brightest model of integrity and wisdom.

‡ "Era muy pequeño de cuerpo con estraña hechura, que de la cintura abaxo tenia tanto cuerpo como qualquiera hombre alto, y de la cintura al hombro no tenia vna tercia. Andando á cauallo parescia á vn mas pequeño de lo que era, porque todo era piernas: de rostro era muy feo: pero lo que la naturaleza le nego de las dotes del cuerpo, se los dobló en los del animo." Garcilasso, Com. Real., parte ii. lib. v. cap. ii.

The president's character may be thought to have been sufficiently portrayed in the history already given of his life. It presented a combination of qualities, which generally serve to neutralize each other, but which were mixed in such proportions in him as to give it additional strength. He was gentle yet resolute; by nature intrepid, yet preferring to rely on the softer arts of policy. He was frugal in his personal expenditure, and economical in the public; yet caring nothing for riches on his own account, and never stinting his bounty when the public good required it. He was benevolent and placable, yet could deal sternly with the impenitent offender; lowly in his deportment, yet with a full measure of that self-respect which springs from conscious rectitude of purpose; modest and unpretending, yet not shrinking from the most difficult enterprises; deferring greatly to others, yet, in the last resort, relying mainly on himself; moving with deliberation,—patiently waiting his time; but, when that came, bold, prompt, and decisive.

Gasca was not a man of genius, in the vulgar sense of that term. At least, no one of his intellectual powers seems to have received an extraordinary development, beyond what is found in others. He was not a great writer, nor a great orator, nor a great general. He did not affect to be either. He committed the care of his military matters to military men; of ecclesiastical, to the clergy; and his civil and judicial concerns he reposed on the members of the Audience. He was not one of those little great men who aspire to do every thing themselves, under the conviction that nothing can be done so well by others, But the president was a keen judge of character.

Whatever might be the office, he selected the best man for it. He did more. He assured himself of the fidelity of his agents; presided at their deliberations; dictated a general line of policy, and thus infused a spirit of unity into their plans, which made all move in concert to the accomplishment of one grand result.

A distinguishing feature of his mind was his common sense,—the best substitute for genius in a ruler who has the destinies of his fellow-men at his disposal, and more indispensable than genius itself. In Gasca, the different qualities were blended in such harmony, that there was no room for excess. They seemed to regulate each other. While his sympathy with mankind taught him the nature of their wants, his reason suggested to what extent these were capable of relief, as well as the best mode of effecting it. He did not waste his strength on illusory schemes of benevolence, like Las Casas, on the one hand: nor did he countenance the selfish policy of the colonists, on the other. He aimed at the practicable,—the greatest good practicable.

In accomplishing his objects, he disclaimed force equally with fraud. He trusted for success to his power over the convictions of his hearers; and the source of this power was the confidence he inspired in his own integrity. Amidst all the calumnies of faction, no imputation was ever cast on the integrity of Gasca.* No wonder that a virtue so rare should be of high price in Peru.

* "Fue tan recatado y estremando en esta virtud, que puesto que de muchos quedó mal quisto, quando del Perú se partio para España, por el repartimiento que hizo: con todo esso, jamas nadie dixo del, ni sospechó que en esto ni otra cosa se vuiesse mouido por codicia." Fernandez, Hist. del Peru, parte i. lib. ii. cap. xcv.

There are some men whose characters have been so wonderfully adapted to the peculiar crisis in which they appeared, that they seem to have been specially designed for it by Providence. Such was Washington in the United States, and Gasca in Peru. We can conceive of individuals with higher qualities, at least with higher intellectual qualities, than belonged to either of these great men. But it was the wonderful conformity of their characters to the exigencies of their situation, the perfect adaptation of the means to the end, that constituted the secret of their success; that enabled Gasca so gloriously to crush revolution, and Washington still more gloriously to achieve it.

Gasca's conduct on his first coming to the colonies affords the best illustration of his character. Had he come backed by a military array, or even clothed in the paraphernalia of authority, every heart and hand would have been closed against him. But the humble ecclesiastic excited no apprehension; and his enemies were already disarmed, before he had begun his approaches. Had Gasca, impatient of Hinojosa's tardiness, listened to the suggestions of those who advised his seizure, he would have brought his cause into jeopardy by this early display of violence. But he wisely chose to win over his enemy by operating on his conviction.

In like manner, he waited his time for making his entry into Peru. He suffered his communications to do their work in the minds of the people, and was careful not to thrust in the sickle before the harvest was ripe. In this way, wherever he went, every thing was prepared for his coming; and when he set foot in Peru, the country was already his own.

After the dark and turbulent spirits with which we have been hitherto occupied, it is refreshing to dwell on a character like that of Gasca. In the long procession which has passed in review before us, we have seen only the mail-clad cavalier, brandishing his bloody lance, and mounted on his war-horse, riding over the helpless natives, or battling with his own friends and brothers; fierce, arrogant, and cruel, urged on by the lust of gold, or the scarce more honourable love of a bastard glory. Mingled with these qualities, indeed, we have seen sparkles of the chivalrous and romantic temper which belongs to the heroic age of Spain. But, with some honourable exceptions, it was the scum of her chivalry that resorted to Peru, and took service under the banner of the Pizarros. At the close of this long array of iron warriors, we behold the poor and humble missionary coming into the land on an errand of mercy, and everywhere proclaiming the glad tidings of peace. No warlike trumpet heralds his approach, nor is his course to be tracked by the groans of the wounded and the dying. The means he employs are in perfect harmony with his end. His weapons are argument and mild persuasion. It is the reason he would conquer, not the body. He wins his way by conviction, not by violence. It is a moral victory to which he aspires, more potent, and happily more permanent, than that of the blood-stained conqueror. As he thus calmly, and imperceptibly, as it were, comes to his great results, he may remind us of the slow, insensible manner in which Nature works out her great changes in the material world, that are to endure when the ravages of the hurricane are passed away and forgotten.

With the mission of Gasca terminates the history of the Conquest of Peru. The Conquest, indeed, strictly terminates with the suppression of the Peruvian revolt, when the strength, if not the spirit, of the Inca race was crushed for ever. The reader, however, might feel a natural curiosity to follow to its close the fate of the remarkable family who achieved the Conquest. Nor would the story of the invasion itself be complete without some account of the civil wars which grew out of it; which serve, moreover, as a moral commentary on preceding events, by shewing that the indulgence of fierce, unbridled passions is sure to recoil, sooner or later, even in this life, on the heads of the guilty.

It is true, indeed, that the troubles of the country were renewed on the departure of Gasca. The waters had been too fearfully agitated to be stilled, at once, into a calm; but they gradually subsided, under the temperate rule of his successors, who wisely profited by his policy and example. Thus the influence of the good president remained after he was withdrawn from the scene of his labours; and Peru, hitherto so distracted, continued to enjoy as large a share of repose as any portion of the colonial empire of Spain. With the benevolent mission of Gasca, then, the historian of the Conquest may be permitted to terminate his labours,—with feelings not unlike those of the traveller, who, having long journeyed among the dreary forests and dangerous defiles of the mountains, at length emerges on some pleasant landscape smiling in tranquillity and peace.

Augustin de Zarate — a highly respectable authority, frequently cited in the later portion of this work — was *Contador de Mercèdes*, Comptroller of Accounts, for Castile. This office he filled for fifteen years; after which he was sent by the government to Peru to examine into the state of the colonial finances, which had been greatly deranged by the recent troubles, and to bring them, if possible, into order.

Zarate went out accordingly in the train of the viceroy Blasco Nuñez, and found himself, through the passions of his imprudent leader, entangled, soon after his arrival, in the inextricable meshes of civil discord. In the struggle which ensued, he remained with the Royal Audience; and we find him in Lima, on the approach of Gonzalo Pizarro to that capital, when Zarate was deputed by the judges to wait on the insurgent chief, and require him to disband his troops and withdraw to his own estates. The historian executed the mission, for which he seems to have had little relish, and which certainly was not without danger. From this period, we rarely hear of him in the troubled scenes that ensued. He probably took no further part in affairs than was absolutely forced on him by circumstances; but the unfavourable bearing of his remarks on Gonzalo Pizarro intimates, that, however he may have been discontented with the conduct of the viceroy, he did not countenance, for a moment, the criminal ambition of his rival. The times were certainly unpropitious to the execution of the financial reforms for which Zarate had come to Peru. But he shewed so much real devotion to the interests of the Crown, that the emperor on his return, signified his satisfaction by making him Superintendent of the Finances in Flanders.

Soon after his arrival in Peru, he seems to have conceived the idea of making his countrymen at home acquainted with the stirring events passing in the colony, which, moreover, afforded some striking passages for the study of the historian. Although he collected notes and diaries, as he tells us, for this purpose, he did not dare to avail himself of them till his return to Castile. "For to have begun the history in Peru," he says, "would have alone been enough to put my life in jeopardy; since a certain commander, named Francisco de Carbajal, threatened to take vengeance on any one who should be so rash as to attempt the relation of his exploits,—far less deserving, as they were, to be placed on record, than to be consigned to eternal oblivion." In this same commander, the reader will readily recognize the veteran lieutenant of Gonzalo Pizarro.

On his return home, Zarate set about the compilation of his work. His first purpose was to confine it to the events that followed the arrival of Blasco Nuñez; but he soon found, that to make these intelligible, he must trace the stream of history higher up towards its sources. He accordingly enlarged his plan, and, beginning with the discovery of Peru, gave an entire view of the conquest and subsequent occupation of the country, bringing the narrative down to the close of Gasca's mission. For the earlier portion of the story, he relied on the accounts of persons who took a leading part in the events. He disposes more summarily of this portion than of that in which he himself was both a spectator and an actor; where his testimony, considering the advantages his position gave him for information, is of the highest value.

Alcedo in his *Biblioteca Americana MS.*, speaks of Zarate's work as "containing much that is good, but as not entitled to the praise of exactness." He wrote under the influence of party heat, which necessarily operates to warp the fairest mind somewhat from its natural bent. For this we must make allowance, in perusing accounts of conflicting parties. But there is no intention, apparently, to turn the truth aside in support of his own cause; and his access to the best sources of knowledge often supplies us with particulars not within the reach of other chroniclers. His narrative is seasoned, moreover, with sensible reflections and passing comments, that open gleams of light into the dark passages of that eventful period. Yet the style of the author can make but moderate pretensions to the praise of elegance or exactness; while the sentences run into that tedious, interminable length which belongs to the garrulous compositions of the regular thoroughbred chronicler of the olden time.

The personalities, necessarily incident, more or less, to such a work, led its author to shrink from publication, at least during his life. By the jealous spirit of the Castilian cavalier, "censure," he says, "however light, is regarded with indignation, and even praise is rarely dealt out in a measure satisfactory to the subject of it." And he expresses his conviction that those do wisely, who allow their accounts of their own times to repose in the quiet security of manuscript, till the generation that is to be affected by them has passed away. His own manuscript, however, was submitted to the emperor; and it received such commendation from this royal authority, that Zarate, plucking up a more courageous spirit, consented to give it to the press. It accordingly appeared at Antwerp, in 1555, in octavo; and a second edition was printed

in folio, at Seville, in 1577. It has since been incorporated in Barcia's valuable collection; and, whatever indignation or displeasure it may have excited among contemporaries, who smarted under the author's censure, or felt themselves defrauded of their legitimate guerdon, Zarate's work has taken a permanent rank among the most respectable authorities for a history of the time.

The name of Zarate naturally suggests that of Fernandez, for both were labourers in the same field of history. Diego Fernandez de Palencia, or *Palentino*, as he is usually called, from the place of his birth, came over to Peru, and served as a private in the royal army raised to quell the insurrections that broke out after Gasca's return to Castile. Amidst his military occupations, he found leisure to collect materials for a history of the period, to which he was further urged by the viceroy, Mendoza, Marques de Cañete, who bestowed on him, as he tells us, the post of Chronicler of Peru. This mark of confidence in his literary capacity intimates higher attainments in Fernandez than might be inferred from the humble station that he occupied. With the fruits of his researches the soldier-chronicler returned to Spain, and, after a time, completed his narrative of the insurrection of Giron.

The manuscript was seen by the President of the Council of the Indies, and he was so much pleased with its execution, that he urged the author to write the account, in like manner, of Gonzalo Pizarro's rebellion, and of the administration of Gasca. The historian was further stimulated, as he mentions in his dedication to Philip the Second, by the promise of a guerdon from that monarch, on the completion of his labours; a very proper as well as politic, promise, but which inevitably suggests the idea of an influence not altogether favourable to severe historic impartiality. Nor will such an inference be found altogether at variance with truth; for while the narrative of Fernandez studiously exhibits the royal cause in the most favourable aspect to the reader, it does scanty justice to the claims of the opposite party. It would not be meet, indeed, that an apology for rebellion should be found in the pages of a royal pensioner; but there are always mitigating circumstances, which, however we may condemn the guilt, may serve to lessen our indignation towards the guilty. These circumstances are not to be found in the pages of Fernandez. It is unfortunate for the historian of such events, that it is so difficult to find one disposed to do even justice to the claims of the unsuccessful rebel. Yet the Inca Garcilasso has not shrunk from this, in the case of Gonzalo Pizarro; and even Gomara, though living under the shadow, or

rather in the sunshine, of the Court, has occasionally ventured a generous protest in his behalf.

The countenance thus afforded to Fernandez from the highest quarter opened to him the best fountains of intelligence,—at least, on the government side of the quarrel. Besides personal communication with the royalist leaders, he had access to their correspondence, diaries, and official documents. He industriously profited by his opportunities; and his narrative, taking up the story of the rebellion from its birth, continues it to its final extinction, and the end of Gasca's administration. Thus the First Part of his work, as it was now called, was brought down to the commencement of the Second, and the whole presented a complete picture of the distractions of the nation, till a new order of things was introduced, and tranquillity was permanently established throughout the country.

The diction is sufficiently plain, not aspiring to rhetorical beauties beyond the reach of its author, and out of keeping with the simple character of a chronicle. The sentences are arranged with more art than in most of the unwieldy compositions of the time; and, while there is no attempt at erudition or philosophic speculation, the current of events flows on in an orderly manner, tolerably prolix, it is true, but leaving a clear and intelligible impression on the mind of the reader. No history of that period compares with it in the copiousness of its details; and it has accordingly been resorted to by later compilers, as an inexhaustible reservoir for the supply of their own pages; a circumstance that may be thought of itself to bear no slight testimony to the general fidelity, as well as fulness of the narrative.—The Chronicle of Fernandez, thus arranged in two parts, under the general title of *Historia del Peru*, was given to the world in the author's lifetime, at Seville, in 1571, in one volume, folio, being the edition used in the preparation of this work.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.—See vol. i. p. 24.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ROYAL PROGRESSES OF THE INCAS; EXTRACTED FROM SARMIENTO'S RELACION, MS.

[The original manuscript, which was copied for Lord Kingsborough's valuable collection, is in the Library of the Escurial.]

Quando en tiempo de paz salian los Yngas á visitar su reyno, cuentan que iban por el con gran majestad, sentados en ricas andas armadas sobre unos palos lisos largos, de manera escelente, engastadas en oro y argenteria; y de las andas salian dos arcos altos hechos de oro, engastados en piedras preciosas. Caian unas mantas algo largas por todas las andas, de tal manera que las cubrian todas; y sino era queriendo el que iba dentro, no podia ser visto, ni alzaban las mantas si no era cuando entraba y salia, tanta era su estimacion; y para que le entrase aire, y el pudiese ver el camino, havia en las mantas hechos algunos agujeros hechos por todas partes. En estas andas habia riqueza, y en algunas estaba esculpido el sol y la luna, y en otras unas culebras grandes ondadas y unos como bastones que las atravesaban. Esto trahian por encima por armas, y estas andas las llevaban en ombros de los señores, los mayores y mas principales del reyno, y aquel que mas con ellas andaba, aquel se tenia por mas onrado y por mas faborecido. En rededor de las andas, á la ila, iba la guardia del Rey con los arqueros y alabarderos, y delante iban cinco mil honderos, y detras venian otros tantos lanceros con sus capitanes, y por los lados del camino y por el mesmo camino iban corredores fides, descubriendo lo que habia, y avisando la ida del Señor; y acudia tanta gente por lo ver, que parecia que todos los cerros y laderas estaba lleno de ella, y todos le davan las vendiciones, alzando alaridos, y grita grande á su usanza, llamandole, *Ancha atunapo indichiri campa capalla apatuco pacha camba balla Yulley!* que en nuestra lengua dirá, "Muy grande y poderoso Señor, hijo del Sol, tu solo eres Señor! todo el mundo te oya en verdad!" Y sin esto le decian otras

cosas mas altas, tanto que poco faltaba para le adorar por Dios. Todo el camino iban Yndios llimpiandolo, de tal manera que ni yerba ni piedra no parecia, sino todo limpio y barrido. Andaba cada dia cuatro leguas, o lo que el queria. Paraba lo que era servido, para entender el estado de su reyno; oia alegremente á los que con quejas le venian, remediando, y castigando á quien hacia injusticias. Los que con ellos iban no se desmandaban á nada ni salian un paso del camino. Los naturales proveian á lo necesario, sin lo cual lo havia tan cumplido en los depositos que sobraba, y ninguna cosa faltaba. Por donde iba salian muchos hombres y mugeres y muchachos á servir personalmente en lo que les era mandado, y para llebar las cargas: los de un pueblo las llebaban hasta otro, de donde los unos las tomaban y los otros las dejaban; y como era un dia, y cuando mucho dos, no lo sentian, ni de ello recivian agravio ninguno. Pues yendo el Señor de esta manera, caminaba por su tierra el tiempo que le placia, viendo por sus ojos lo que pasaba, y proveyendo lo que entendia que convenia, que todo era cosas grandes e importantes; lo cual hecho, daba la buelta al Cuzco, principal ciudad de todo su imperio.

No. II.—See vol. i. p. 58.

ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT ROAD MADE BY THE INCAS OVER THE PLATEAU, FROM QUITO TO CUZCO; EXTRACTED FROM SARMIENTO'S RELACION, MS.

Una de las cosas de que yo mas me admiré, contemplando y notando las cosas de estos reynos, fue pensar como y de que manera se pudieron hacer caminos tan grandes y sovervios como por el vemos, y que fuerzas de hombres bastaran á lo hacer, y con que herramientas y instrumentos pudieron allanar los montes y quebrantar las peñas para hacerlos tan anchos y buenos como estan; por que me parece que si el Emperador quisiese mandar hacer otro camino real como el que bá del Quito al Cuzco, ó sale del Cuzco para ir á Chile, ciertam^te^ creo, con todo su poder, para ello no fuese poderoso, ni fuerzas de hombres lo pudiesen hacer, sino fuese con la orden tan grande que para ello los Yngas mandaron que hubiese: por que si fuera camino de cinquenta leguas, ó de ciento, ó de doscientas, es de creer que aunque la tierra fuera mas aspera, no se tubiera en mucho con buena diligencia hacerlo; mas estos eran tan largos que havia alguno que tenia mas de mil y cien leguas, todo hechado por sierras tan grandes y espantosas que por algunas partes mirando abajo se quitaba la vista, y algunas de estas sierras derechas y llenas de piedras, tanto que era menester cavar por las laderas en peña viva para hacer el camino ancho y llano, todo lo qual hacian con fuego y con sus picos; por

otras lugares havia subidas tan altas y asperas, que hacian desde lo bajo escalones para poder subir por ellos á lo mas alto, haciendo entre medias de ellos algunos descansos anchos para el reposo de la gente; en otros lugares havia montones de nieve que eran mas de temer, y estos no en un lugar sino en muchas partes, y no asi como quiera sino que no bá ponderado ni encarecido como ello és, ni como lo bemos, y por estas nieves y por donde havia montañas, de arboles y cespedes lo hacian llano y empedrado si menester fuese. Los que leyeren este libro, y hubieren estado en el Peru, miren el camino que bá desde Lima á Xauxa por las sierras tan asperas de Guayacoire y por las montañas nevadas de Pavacaca, y entenderán los que á ellos lo oyeren si es mas lo que ellos vieron que no lo que yo escrivo.

No. III.—See vol. i. p. 70.

POLICY OBSERVED BY THE INCAS IN THEIR CONQUESTS; TAKEN FROM SARMIENTO'S RELACION, MS.

Una de las cosas de que mas se tiene embidia á estos señores, és entender quan bien supieron conquistar tan grandes tierras y ponerlas con su prudencia en tanta razon como los Españoles las hallaron quando por ellos fué descubierto este reyno, y de que esto sea asi muchas vezes me acuerdo yo estando en alguna provincia indomita fuera de estos reynos oir luego á los mesmos Españoles yo aseguro que si los Yngas anduvieran por aqui que otra cosa fuera esto, es decir no conquistaran los Yngas esto como lo otro porque supieran servir y tributar, por manera que quanto á esto, conozida está la ventaja que nos hacen pues con su orden, las gentes vivian con ella y crecian en multiplicacion, y de las provincias esteriles hacian fertiles y abundantes en tanta manera y por tan galana orden como se dirá, siempre procuraron de hacer por bien las cosas y no por mal en el comienzo de los negocios, despues algunos Yngas hicieron grandes castigos en muchas partes, pero antes todos afirman que fue grande con la benevolencia y amicicia que procuraban el atraer á su servicio estas gentes. Ellos salian del Cuzco con su gente y aparato de guerra, y caminaban con gran concierto hasta cerca de donde havian de ir y querian conquistar, donde muy bastantemente se informaban del poder que tenian los enemigos, y de las ayudas que podrian tener, y de que parte les podrian venir favores y por que camino; y esto entendido por ellos, procuraban por las vias á ellos posibles estorvar que no fuesen socorridos ora con dones grandes que hacian ora con resistencias que ponian, entendiendo sin esto de mandar hacer sus fuertes, los quales eran en cerro ó ladera hechos en ellos ciertas cercas altas y largas, con su

puerta cada una, porque perdida la una pudiesen pasarse á la otra, y de la otra hasta lo mas alto; y embiaban esanchas de los confederados para marcar la tierra y ver los caminos y conocer del arte q^e estaban aguardando y por donde havia mas mantenimiento, saviendo por el camino que havian de llevar y la orden con que havian de ir, embiabales mensageros propios con los quales les embiaba á decir, que él los queria tener por parientes y aliados, por tanto que con buen animo y corazon alegre se saliesen á lo recevir y recevirlo en su provincia, para que en ella le sea dada la obediencia como en las demas, y porq^e lo hagan con voluntad, embiaba presentes á los señores naturales, y con esto y con otras buenas maneras que tenia entraron en muchas tierras sin guerra, en las quales mandaban á la gente de guerra que con él iba que no hiciesen daño ni injuria ninguna ni robo ni fuerza. Y si en tal provincia no havia mantenimiento, mandaba que de otra parte se proveyese, porque á los nuebamente venidos á su servicio no les pareciese desde luego pesado su mando y conocimiento, y el conocerle y aborrecerle fuese en un tiempo; y si en alguna de estas provincias no havia ganado, mandaba luego que les diese por quenta tantas mil cavezas, lo qual mandaban que mirasen mucho y con ello multiplicasen para proberse de lana para sus ropas, y que no fuesen osados de comer ni matar ninguna cria por los años y tiempo que les señalaba; y si havia ganado y tenien de otra cosa falta, era lo mismo; y si estaban en collados y arenales, bien les hacian entender con buenas palabras que hiciesen pueblos y casas en lo mas llano de las sierras y laderas; y como muchos no eran diestros en cultibar las tierras, abecavanles como lo havian de hacer, imponiendoles en que supiesen, sacar acequias y regar con ellas los campos: en todo los havian de proveer tan concertadamente, que quando entraba por amistad alguno de los Yngas en provincias de estas, en brebe tiempo quedaba tal que parecia otra, y los naturales le daban la obediencia, consintiendo que sus delegados quedasen en ellos, y lo mismo los mitimaes; en otras muchas que entraron de guerra y por fuerza de armas, mandabase que en los mantenimientos y casas de los enemigos se hiciese poco daño, diciendoles el señor, "Presto serán estos nuestros como los que ya lo son." Como esto tenian con ocido, procuraban q̃ la guerra fuese la mas liviana que ser pudiese, no embargante que en muchos lugares se dieron grandes batallas, porque todavia los naturales de ellos querian conservarse en la livertad antigua sin perder sus costumbres y religion por tomar otras estrañas; mas durando la guerra siempre havian los Yngas lo mejor, y vencidos no los destruian de nuebo, antes mandaban restituhir los presos si algunos havia y el despojo y ponerlos en posesion de sus haciendas y señorio, amonestandoles que no quieran ser locos en tener contra su persona real competencias ni dejar su amistad, antes querian ser sus amigos como lo son los comarcanos suyos; y diciendoles esto, dabanles algunas mugeres hermosas y presas ricas de lana ó de metal de oro. Con estas dadivas y buenas palabras havia las voluntades de todos, de tal manera que sin ningun temor los huidos á los montes se bolvian á sus casas, y todos dejaban las armas,

y el que mas veces veia al Ynga se tenia por mas bien aventurado y dichoso. Los señorios nunca los tiraban á los naturales, á todos mandaban unos y otros que por Dios adorasen el sol; sus demas religiones y costumbres no se las prohivian, pero mandabanles que se governasan por las leyes y costumbres que se governaban en el Cuzco, y que todos hablasen en la lengua general, y puesto governador por el Señor con guarniciones de gente de guerra, parten para lo de adelante. Y si estas provincias eran grandes, luego se entendia en edificar un templo del sol, y colocar las mugeres que ponian en los demas, y hacer palacios para los señores, y cobraban para los tributos que havian de pagar sin llevarles nada demasiado ni agraviarles en cosa ninguna, encaminandoles en su policio y en que supiesen hacer edificios y traer ropas largas y vivir concertadamente en sus pueblos; á los quales si algo les faltaba de que tubiesen necesidad, eran provehidos y enseñados como lo havian de sembrar y beneficiar. De tal manera se hacia esto que sabemos en muchos lugares que no havia maiz, tenello despues sobrado, y en todo lo demas andaban como salvages mal vestidos y descalsos, y desde que conocieron á estos señores usaron de camisetas lares y mantas, y las mugeres lo mismo y de otras buenas cosas, tanto que para siempre habra memoria de todo ello. Y en el collas y en otras partes mandó pasar mitimaes á la sierra de los Andes para que sembrasen maiz y coca y otras frutas y raizes de todos los pueblos la cantidad combeniente, los quales con sus mugeres vivian siempre en aquella parte, donde sembraban y cojian tanto de lo que digo que se sentia poco la falta por traer mucho de estas partes, y no haver pueblo ninguno por pequeño que fuese que no tubiese de estos mitimaes. Adelante trataremos quantas suertes havia de estos mitimaes, y hacian los unos y entendian los otros.

No. IV.—See vol. i. p. 156.

EXTRACT FROM THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF MANCIO SIERRA LEJESEMA, MS.

[The following is the preamble of the testament of a soldier of the Conquest, named Lejesema. It is in the nature of a death-bed confession; and seems intended to relieve the writer's mind, who sought to expiate his own sins by this sincere though tardy tribute to the merits of the vanquished. As the work in which it appears is rarely to be met with, I have extracted the whole of the preamble.]

Verdadera confesion y protestacion en articulo de muerte hecha por uno de los primeros Españoles conquistadores del Peru, nombrado

Mancio Sierra Lejesema, con su testamento otorgado en la ciudad del Cuzco, el dia 15 de Setiembre de 1589, ante Geronimo Sanchez de Quesada, escribano publico: la qual la trae el P. Fr. Antonio Calancha, del orden de hermitanos de San Agustin, en la cronica de su religion, en el lib. i. cap. xv. folio 98, y es del tenor siguiente:—

" Primeramente, antes de empezar dicho mi testamento, declaro que ha muchos años que yo he deseado tener orden de advertir á la Catolica Majestad del Rey Don Felipe, nuestro Señor, viendo cuan catolico y cristianisimoes, y cuan zeloso del servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, por lo que toca al descargo de mi anima, á causa de haber sido yo mucho parte en descubrimiento, conquista, y poblacion de estos reynos, cuando los quitamos á los que eran señores Ingas, y los poseian, y regian como suyos propios, y los pusimos debajo de la real corona, que entienda su Majestad Catolica, que los dichos Ingas los tenian gobernados de tal manera, que en todos ellos no habia un ladron ni hombre vicioso, ni hombre holgazán, ni una muger adúltera ni mala; ni se permitia entre ellos ni gente de mal vivir en lo moral; que los hombres tenian sus ocupaciones honestas y provechosas; y que los montes y minas, pastos, caza y madera, y todo genero de aprovechamientos, estaba gobernado y repartido de suerte que cada uno conocia y tenia su hacienda sin que otro ninguno se la ocupase ó tomase, ni sobre ello habian pleytos; y que las cosas de guerra, aunque eran muchas, no impedian á las del comercio, ni estas á las cosas de labranza ó cultivar de las tierras, ni otra cosa alguna; y que en todo, desde lo mayor hasta lo mas menudo, tenia su orden y concierto con mucho acierto: y que los Ingas eran tenidos y obecidos y respetados de sus subditos como gente muy capaz y de mucho gobierno, y que lo mismo eran sus gobernadores y capitanes; y que como en estos hallamos la fuerza y el mando y la resistencia para poderlos sugetar é oprimir al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, y quitarles su tierra, y ponerla debaxo de la real corona, fue necesario quitarles totalmente el poder y mando y los bienes, como se los quitamos á fuerza de armas: y que mediante haberlo permitido Dios nuestro Señor nos fue posible sujetar este reyno de tanta multitud de gente y riqueza, y de señores los hicimos siervos tan sujetos, como se ve: y que entienda su Magestad que el intento que me mueve á hacer esta relacion es por descargo de mi conciencia, y por hallarme culpado en ello, pues habemos destruido con nuestro mal exemplo gente de tanto gobierno como eran estos naturales, y tan quitados de cometer delitos ni excesos asi hombres como mugeres, tanto por el Indio que tenia cien mil pesos de oro y plata en su casa, y otros Indios dejaban abierta y puesta una escoba ó un palo pequeño atravesado en la puerta para señal de que no estaba alli su dueño, y con esto segun su costumbre no podia entrar nadie adentro, ni tomar cosa de las que alli habia; y cuando ellos vieron que nosotros poniamos puertas y llaves en nuestras casas, entendieron que era de miedo de ellos, porque no nos matasen, pero no porque creyesen que ninguno tomase ni hurtase á otro su hacienda; y asi cuando vieron que habia entre nosotros ladrones, y

hombres que incitaban á pecado á sus mugeres y hijas, nos tubieron en poco; y han venido á tal rotura en ofensa de Dios estos naturales por el mal exemplo que les hemos dado en todo, que aquel extremo de no hacer cosa mala se ha convertido en que hoy ninguna ó pocas hacen buenas, y requieren remedio, y esto toca á su Magestad, para que descargue su conciencia, y se lo advierte, pues no soy parte para mas. Y con esto suplico á mi Dios me perdone; y mueveme á decirlo porque soy el postrero que mueve de todos los descubridores y conquistadores, que como es notorio ya no hay ninguno, sino yo solo en este reyno, ni fuera de el, y con esto hago lo que puedo para descargo de mi conciencia."

No. V.—See vol. i. p. 213.

TRANSLATION FROM OVIEDO'S HISTORIA GENERAL DE LAS INDIAS, MS., PARTE II. CAP. XXIII.

[This chapter of the gossiping old chronicler describes a conversation between the governor of Tierra Firme and Almagro, at which the writer was present. It is told with much spirit; and is altogether so curious, from the light it throws on the characters of the parties, that I have thought the following translation, which has been prepared for me, might not be uninteresting to the English reader.]

THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN ALMAGRO AND PEDRARIAS, IN WHICH THE LATTER RELINQUISHED HIS SHARE OF THE PROFITS ARISING FROM THE DISCOVERY OF PERU. TRANSLATED FROM OVIEDO, HISTORIA GENERAL, MS., PARTE II. CAP. XXIII.

In February, 1527, I had some accounts to settle with Pedrarias, and was frequently at his house for the purpose. While there one day, Almagro came in and said to him, "Your Excellency is of course aware that you contracted with Francisco Pizarro, Don Fernando de Luque, the school-master, and myself, to fit out an expedition for the discovery of Peru. You have contributed nothing for the enterprise, while we have sunk both fortune and credit, for our expenses have already amounted to about fifteen thousand *castellanos de oro*. Pizarro and his followers are now in the greatest distress, and require a supply of provisions, with a reinforcement of brave recruits. Unless these are promptly raised, we shall be wholly ruined, and our glorious enterprise, from which the most brilliant results have been justly anticipated, will fall to the ground. An

exact account will be kept of our expenses, that each may share the profits of the discovery in proportion to the amount of his contribution towards the outfit. "You have connected yourself with us in the adventure, and, from the terms of our contract, have no right to waste our time and involve us in ruin. But if you no longer wish to be a member of the partnership, pay down your share of what has already been advanced, and leave the affair to us."

To this proposal Pedrarias replied with indignation:—"One would really think, from the lofty tone you take, that my power was at an end; but if I have not been degraded from my office, you shall be punished for your insolence. You shall be made to answer for the lives of the Christians who have perished through Pizarro's obstinacy and your own. A day of reckoning will come for all these disturbances and murders, as you shall see, and that before you leave Panamá."

"I grant," returned Almagro, "that, as there is an Almighty Judge, before whose tribunal we must appear, it is proper that all should render account of the living as well as the dead. And, sir, I shall not shrink from doing so, when I have received an account from you, to be immediately sent to Pizarro, of the gratitude which our sovereign, the Emperor, has been pleased to express for our services. Pay, if you wish to enjoy the fruits of this enterprise; for you neither sweat nor toil for them, and have not contributed even a third of the sum you promised when the contract was drawn up,—your whole expenditure not exceeding two or three paltry *pesos*. But if you prefer to leave the partnership at once, we will remit one half of what you owe us for our past outlays.

Pedrarias, with a bitter smile, replied, "It would not ruin you, if you were to give me four thousand *pesos* to dissolve our connection."

"To forward so happy an event," said Almagro, "we will release you from your whole debt, although it may prove our ruin; but we will trust our fortunes in the hand of God."

Although Pedrarias found himself relieved from the debt incurred for the outfit of the expedition, which could not be less than four or five thousand *pesos*, he was not satisfied, but asked, "What more will you give me?"

Almagro, much chagrined, said, "I will give three hundred *pesos*, though I swear by God I have not so much money in the world; but I will borrow it to be rid of such an incubus."

"You must give me two thousand."

"Five hundred is the most I will offer."

"You must pay me more than a thousand."

"A thousand *pesos*, then," cried the captain in a rage, "I will give you, though I do not own them; but I will find sufficient security for their future payment."

Pedrarias declared himself satisfied with this arrangement; and a contract was accordingly drawn up, in which it was agreed, that, on

the receipt of a thousand *pesos*, the governor should abandon the partnership, and give up his share in the profits of the expedition. I was one of the witnesses who signed this instrument, in which Pedrarias released and assigned over all his interest in Peru to Almagro and his associates,—by this act deserting the enterprise, and, by his littleness of soul, forfeiting the rich treasures which it is well known he might have acquired from the golden empire of the Incas.

No. VI.—See vol. i. p. 215.

CONTRACT BETWEEN PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, AND LUQUE; EXTRACTED FROM MONTESINOS, ANNALES, MS., ANO 1526.

[This memorable contract between three adventurers, for the discovery and partition of an empire, is to be found entire in the manuscript history of Montesinos, whose work derives more value from the insertion in it of this, and of other original documents, than from any merit of its own. This instrument, which may be considered as the basis of the operations of Pizarro, seems to form a necessary appendage to a history of the Conquest of Peru.]

En el nombre de la santisima Trinidad, Padre, Hijo, y Espiritu Santo, tres personas distintas y un solo Dios verdadero, y de la santísima Vírgen nuestra Señora, hacemos esta compañía:—

Sepan cuantos esta carta de compañía vieren como yo Don Fernando de Luque, clérigo presbítero, vicario de la santa iglesia de Panamá, de la una parte, y de la otra el capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, vecinos que somos en esta ciudad de Panamá, decimos, que somos concertados y convenidos de hacer y formar compañia la cual sea firme y valedera para siempre jamas en esta manera:—Que por cuanto nos los dichos capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro tenemos licencia del señor gobernador Pedro Arias de Avila para descubrir y conquistar las tierras y provincias de los reinos llamados del Peru, que está, por noticia que hay, pasado el golfo y travesía del mar de la otra parte; y porque para hacer la dicha conquista y jornada y navios y gente y bastimento y otras cosas que son necesarias, no lo podemos hacer por no tener dinero y posibilidad tanta cuanta es menester; y vos el dicho Don Fernando de Luque nos los dais porque esta compañia la hagamos por iguales partes: somos contentos y convenidos de que todos tres hermanablemente, sin que hagan de haber ventaja ninguna mas el uno que el otro, ni el otro que el otro de todo

lo que se descubriere, ganare y conquistare, y poblar en los dichos reinos y provincias del Perú. Y por cuanto vos el dicho D. Fernando de Luque nos disteis, y poneis de puesto por vuestra parte en esta dicha compañia para gastos de la armada y gente que se hace para la dicha jornada y conquista del dicho reino del Perú, veinte mil pesos en barras de oro, y de á cuatrocientos y cincuenta maravedis el peso, los cuales nos recibimos luego en las dichas barras de oro que pasaron de vuestro poder al nuestro en presencia del escribano de esta carta, que lo valió y montó; y yo Hernando del Castillo doy fé que los vide pesar los dichos veinte mil pesos en las dichas barras de oro, y lo recibieron en mi presencia los dichos capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, y se dieron por contentos y pagados de ella. Y nos los dichos capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro ponemos de nuestra parte en esta dicha compañia la merced que tenemos del dicho señor gobernador, y que la dicha conquista y reino que descubriremos de la tierra del dicho Perú, que en nombre de S. M. nos ha hecho, y las demas mercedes que nos hiciere y acrescentare S. M., y los de su consejo de las Indias de aqui adelante, para que de todo goceis y hayais vuestra tercera parte, sin que en cosa alguna hayamos de tener mas parte cada uno de nos, el uno que el otro, sino que hayamos de todo ello partes iguales. Y mas ponemos en esta dicha compañia nuestras personas y el haber de hacer la dicha conquista y descubrimiento con asistir con ellas en la guerra todo el tiempo que se tardare en conquistar y ganar y poblar el dicho reino del Perú, sin que por ello hayamos de llevar ninguno ventaja y parte mas de la que vos el dicho Don Fernando de Luque llevaredes, que ha de ser por iguales partes todos tres, asi de los aprovechamientos que con nuestras personas tuvieremos, y ventajas de las partes que nos cupieren en la guerra y en los despojos y ganancias y suertes que en la dicha tierra del Perú hubiéremos y gozáremos, y nos cupieren por cualquier via y forma que sea, asi á mi el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro como á mi Diego de Almagro, habeis de haber de todo ello, y es vuestro, y os lo daremos bien y fielmente, sin desfraudaros en cosa alguna de ello, la tercera parte, porque desde ahora en lo que Dios nuestro Señor nos diere, decimos y confesamos que es vuestro y de vuestros herederos y succesores, de quien en esta dicha compañia succediere y lo hubiere de haber, en vuestro nombre se lo daremos, y le daremos cuenta de todo ello á vos, y á vuestros succesores, quieta y pacificamente, sin llevar mas parte cada uno de nos que vos el dicho Don Fernando de Luque, y quien vuestro poder hubiere y le preteneciere; y asi de cualquier dictado y estado de señorio perpetuo, ó por tiempo señalado que S. M. nos hiciere merced en el dicho reino del Perú, así á mí el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro, ó á mí el dicho Diego de Almagro, ó á cualquiera de nos, sea vuestro el tercio de toda la renta y estado y vasallos que á cada uno de nos se nos diere y hiciere merced en cualquiera manera ó forma que sea en el dicho reino del Perú por via de estado, ó renta, repartimiento de Indios, situaciones, vasallos, seais señor y goceis de la tercia parte de ello como nosotros mismos, sin adicion ni condicion

ninguna, y si la hubiere y alegáremos, yo el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, y en nuestros nombres nuestros herederos, que no seamos oidos en juicio ni fuera dél, y nos damos por condenados en todo y por todo como en esta escriptura se contiene para lo pager y que haya efecto. Y yo el dicho D. Fernando de Luque hago la dicha compañia en la forma y manera que de suso está declarado, y doy los veinte mil pesos de buen oro para el dicho descubrimiento y conquista del dicho reino del Perú, á perdida ó ganancia, como Dios nuestro Señor sea servido, y de lo sucedido en el dicho descubrimiento de la dicha gobernacion y tierra he yo de gozar y haber la tercera parte, y la otra tercera para el capitan Francisco Pizarro, y la otra tercera para Diego de Almagro, sin que el uno lleve mas que el otro, asi de estado de señor, como de repartimiento de Indios perpétuos, como de tierras y solares y heredades, como de tesoros, y escondijos encubiertos, como de cualquier riqueza ó aprovechamiento de oro, plata, perlas, esmeraldas, diamantes, y rubíes, y de cualquier estado y condicion que sea, que los dichos capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro hayais y tengais en el dicho reino del Perú, me habeis de dar la tercera parte. Y nos el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro decimos que aceptamos la dicha compañía y la hacemos con el dicho Don Fernando de Luque de la forma y manera que lo pide él, y lo declara para que todos por iguales partes hayamos en todo y por todo, asi de estados perpetuos que S. M. nos hiciese mercedes en vasallos ó Indios ó en otras cualesquiera rentas, goce el derecho Don Fernando de Luque, y haya la dicha tercia parte de todo ello enteramente, y goce de ello como cosa suya desde èl dia que S. M. nos hiciere cualesquiera mercedes como dicho es. Y para mayor verdad y seguridad de esta escriptura de compañia, y de todo lo en ella contenido, y que os acudirémos y pagarémos nos los dichos capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro á vos el dicho Fernando de Luque con la tercia parte de todo lo que se hubiere y descubriere, y nosotros hubiéremos por cualquiera via y forma que sea; para mayor fuerza de que lo cumpliremos como en esta escriptura se contiene, juramos á Dios nuestro Señor y á los Santos Evangelios donde mas largamente son escritos y estan en este libro Misal, donde pusieron sus manos el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, hicieron la señal de la cruz en semejanza de esta † con sus dedos de la mano en presencia de mí el presente escribano, y dijeron que guardarán y cumplirán esta dicha compañia y escriptura en todo por todo como en ello se contiene, so pena de infames y malos cristianos, y caer en caso de menos valer, y que Dios se lo demande mal y caramente; y dijeron el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, amen; y asi lo juramos y le daremos el tercio de todo lo que descubriéremos y conquistáremos y pobláremos en el dicho reino y tierra del Perú, y que goce de ello como nuestras personas, de todo aquello en que fuere nuestro y tuviéremos parte como dicho es en esta dicha escriptura; y nos obligamos de acudir con ello á vos el dicho Don Fernando de Luque, y á quien en vuestro nombre le pertene-

ciere y hubiere de haber, y les daremos cuenta con pago de todo ello cada y cuando que se nos pidiere, hecho el dicho descubrimiento y conquista y poblacion del dicho reino y tierra del Perú; y prometemos que en la dicha conquista y descubrimiento nos ocuparémos y trabajarémos con nuestras personas sin ocuparnos en otra cosa hasta que se conquiste la tierra y se ganáre, y si no lo hiciéremos seamos castigados por todo rigor de justicia por infames y perjuros, seamos obligados á volver á vos el dicho Don Fernando de Luque los dichos veinte mil pesos de oro que de vos recibimos. Y para lo cumplir y pagar y haber por firme todo lo en esta escriptura contenido, cada uno por lo que le toca, renunciaron todas y cualesquier leyes y ordenamientos y pramáticas, y otras cualesquier constituciones, ordenanzas que estén fechas en su favor, y cualesquiera de ellos para que aunque las pidan y aleguen, que no les valga. Y valga esta escriptura dicha, y todo lo en ella contenido, y traiga aparejada y debida ejecucion asi en sus personas como en sus bienes, muebles y raices habidos y por haber; y para lo cumplir y pagar, cada uno por lo que le toca, obligaron sus personas y bienes habidos y por haber segun dicho es, y dieron poder cumplido á cualesquier justicias y jueces de S. M. para que por todo rigor y mas breve remedio de derecho les compelan y apremien á lo asi cumplir y pagar, como si lo que dicho es fuese sentencia difinitiva de juez competente pasada en cosa juzgada; y renunciaron cualesquier leyes y derechos que en su favor hablan, especialmente la ley que dice Que general renunciacion de leyes no vala. Que es fecha en la ciudad de Panamá á diez dias del mes de Marzo, año del nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesucristo de mil quinientos veinte y seis años. Testigos que fueron presentes á lo que dicho es Juan de Panés, y Alvaro del Quiro y Juan de Vallejo, vecinos de la ciudad de Panamá, y firmó el dicho D. Fernando de Luque: y porque no saben firmar el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro y Diego de Almagro, firmaron por ellos en el registro de esta carta Juan de Panés y Alvaro del Quiro, á los cuales otorgantes yo el presente escribano doy fé que conozco. Don Fernando de Luque.—A su ruego de Francisco Pizarro—Juan de Panés; y á su ruego de Diego de Almagro—Alvaro del Quiro: E yo Hernando del Castillo, escribano de S. M. y escribano publico, y del numero de esta ciudad de Panamá, presente fui al otorgamiento de esta carta, y la fice escribir en estas cuatro fojas con esta, y por ende fice aquí este mi signo á tal en testimonio de verdad. Hernando del Castillo, escribano publico.

No. VII.—See vol. i. pp. 194, 282.

CAPITULATION MADE BY FRANCIS PIZARRO WITH THE QUEEN, MS., DATED TOLEDO, JULY 26, 1529.

[For a copy of this document I am indebted to Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, late Director of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid. Though sufficiently long, it is of no less importance than the preceding contract, forming, like that, the foundation on which the enterprise of Pizarro and his associates may be said to have rested.]

La Reina.—Por cuanto vos el capitan Francisco Pizarro, vecino de tierra firme, llamada Castilla del Oro, por vos y en nombre del venerable padre D. Fernando de Luque, maestre escuela y provisor de la iglesia del Darien, *sede vacante,* que es en la dicha Castilla del Oro, y el capitan Diego de Almagro, vecino de la ciudad de Panamá, nos hicísteis relacion, que vos e los dichos vuestros compañeros, con deseo de nos servir e del bien e acrecentamiento de nuestra corona real, puede haber cinco años, poco mas o menos, que con licencia e parecer de Pedrarias Dávila, nuestro gobernador e capitan general que fue de la dicha tierra firme, tomastes cargo de ir a conquistar, descubrir, e pacificar, e poblar por la costa del mar del Sur, de la dicha tierra a la parte de Levante, a vuestra costa e dè los dichos vuestros compañeros, todo lo mas que por aquella parte pudiéredes, e hicísteis para ello dos navíos e un bergantin en la dicha costa, en que asi esto por se haber de pasar la jarcia e aparejos necesarios al dicho viaje e armada desde el Nombre de Dios, que es la costa del Norte, a la otra costa del Sur, como con la gente e otras cosas necesarias al dicho viaje, e tornar a rehacer la dicha armada, gastásteis mucha suma de pesos de oro, e fuistes a hacer e hicísteis el dicho descubrimiento, donde pasastes muchos peligros e trabajo, a causa de lo cual os dejó toda la gente que con vos iba en una isla despoblada con solos trece hombres que no vos quisieron dejar, y que con ellos y con el socorro que de navíos e gente vos hizo el dicho capitan Diego de Almagro, pasastes de la dicha isla e descubristes las tierras e provincias del Pirú e ciudad de Tumbes, en que habeis gastado vos e los dichos vuestros compañeros mas de treinta mil pesos de oro, e que con el deseo que teneis de nos servir querríades continuar la dicha conquista e poblacion a vuestra costa e mision, sin que en ningun tiempo seamos obligados a vos pagar ni satisfacer los gastos que en ello hiciéredes, mas de lo que en esta capitulacion vos fuese otorgado, e me suplicasteis e pedistes por merced vos mandase encomendar la conquista de las dichas tierras, e vos concediese e otorgase las mercedes, e con las condiciones que de suso serán contenidas; sobre lo cual yo mandé tomar con vos el asiento y capitulacion siguiente.

Primeramente doy licencia y facultad a vos el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro, para que por nos y en nuestro nombre e de la corona real de Castilla, podais continuar el dicho descubrimiento, conquista, y poblacion de la dicha provincia del Perú, fasta ducientas leguas de tierra por la misma costa, las cuales dichas ducientas leguas comienzan desde el pueblo que en lengua de Indios se dice Tenumpuela, e despues le llamásteis Santiago, hasta llegar al pueblo de Chincha, que puede haber las dichas ducientas leguas de costa, poco mas o menos.

Item: Entendiendo ser cumplidero al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y nuestro, y por honrar vuestra persona, e por vos hacer merced, prometemos de vos hacer nuestro gobernador e capitan general de toda la dicha provincia del Perú, e tierras y pueblos que al presente hay e adelante hubiere en todas las dichas ducientas leguas, por todos los dias de vuestra vida, con salario de setecientos e veinte y cinco mill maravedís cada año, contados desde el dia que vos hiciésedes a la vela destos nuestros reinos para continuar la dicha poblacion e conquista, los cuales vos han de ser pagados de las rentas y derechos a nos pertenecientes en la dicha tierra que ansi habeis de poblar; del cual salario habeis de pagar en cada un año un alcalde mayor, diez escuderos, e treinta peones, e un médico e un boticario, el cual salario vos ha de ser pagado por los nuestros oficiales de la dicha tierra.

Otrosi: Vos hacemos merced de título de nuestro adelantado de la dicha provincia del Perú, e ansimismo del oficio de alguacil mayor della, todo ello por los dias de vuestra vida.

Otrosi: Vos doy licencia para que con parecer y acuerdo de los dichos nuestros oficiales podais hacer en las dichas tierras e provincias del Perú hasta cuatro fortalezas, en las partes y lugares que mas convengan, paresciendo a vos e a los dichos nuestros oficiales ser necesarias para guarda e pacificacion de la dicha tierra, e vos haré merced de las tenencias dellas, para vos, e para los herederos e subcesores vuestros, uno en pos de otro, con salario de setenta y cinco mill maravedís en cada un año por cada una de las dichas fortalezas, que ansi estuvieren hechas, las cuales habeis de hacer a vuestra costa, sin que nos, ni los reyes que despues de nos vinieren, seamos obligados a vos lo pagar al tiempo que asi lo gastáredes, salvo dende en cinco años despues de acabada la fortaleza, pagándoos en cada un año de los dichos cinco años la quinta parte de lo que se montare el dicho las gasto, de los frutos de la dicha tierra.

Otrosi: Vos hacemos merced para ayuda a vuestra costa de mill ducados en cada un año por los dias de vuestra vida de las rentas de las dichas tierras.

Otrosi: Es nuestra merced, acatando la buena vida e doctrina de la persona del dicho Don Fernando de Luque, de le presentar a nuestro muy Sancto Padre por obispo de la ciudad de Tumbes, que es en la dicha provincia y gobernacion del Perú, con limites e diciones que por nos con autoridad apostólica serán señalados; y entretanto que vienen

las bulas del dicho obispado, le hacemos protector universal de todos los Indios de dicha provincia, con salario de mill ducados en cada un año, pagado de nuestras rentas de la dicha tierra, entretanto que hay diezmos eclesiásticos de que se pueda pagar.

Otrosi: Por cuanto nos habedes suplicado por vos en el dicho nombre vos hiciese merced de algunos vasallos en las dichas tierras, e al presente lo dejamos de hacer por no tener entera relacion de ellas, es nuestra merced que, entretanto que informados proveamos en ello lo que a nuestro servicio e a la enmienda e satisfaccion de vuestros trabajos e servicios conviene, tengais la veintena parte de los pechos que nos tuviéremos en cada un año en la dicha tierra, con tanto que no exceda de mill y quinientos ducados, los mill para vos el dicho capitan Pizarro, e los quinientos para el dicho Diego de Almagro.

Otrosi: Hacemos merced al dicho capitan Diego de Almagro de la tenencia de la fortaleza que hay u obiere en la dicha ciudad de Tumbes, que es en la dicha provincia del Perú, con salario de cien mill maravedís cada un año, con mas ducientos mill maravedís cada un año de ayuda de costa, todo pagado de las rentas de la dicha tierra, de las cuales ha de gozar desde el dia que vos el dicho Francisco Pizarro llegáredes a la dicha tierra, aunque el dicho capitan Almagro se quede en Panamá, e en otra parte que le convenga; e le haremos home hijodalgo, para que goce de las honras e preminencias que los homes hijodalgo pueden y deben gozar en todas las Indias, islas e tierra firme del mar Océano.

Otrosi: Mandamos que las dichas haciendas, e tierras, e solares que teneis en tierra firme, llamada Castilla del Oro, e vos estan dadas como a vecino de ella, las tengais e goceis, e hagais de ello lo que quisiéredes e por bien tuviéredes, conforme a lo que tenemos concedido y otorgado a los vecinos de la dicha tierra firme; e en lo que toca a los Indios e naborias que teneis e vos estan encomendados, es nuestra merced e voluntad e mandamos que los tengais e goceis e sirvais de ellos, e que no vos serán quitados ni removidos por el tiempo que nuestra voluntad fuere.

Otrosi: Concedemos a los que fueren a poblar la dicha tierra que en los seis años primeros siguientes desde el dia de la data de esta en adelante, que del oro que se cogiere de las minas nos paguen el diezmo, y cumplidos los dichos seis años paguen el noveno, e ansi decendiendo en cada un año hasta llegar al quinto: pero del oro e otras cosas que se obieren de rescatar, o cabalgadas, o en otra cualquier manera, desde luego nos han de pagar el quinto de todo ello.

Otrosi: Franqueamos a los vecinos de la dicha tierra por los dichos seis años, y mas, y cuanto fuere nuestra voluntad, de almojarifazgo de todo lo que llevaren para proveimiento e provision de sus casas, con tanto que no sea para lo vender; e de lo que vendieren ellos, e otras cualesquier personas, mercaderes e tratantes, ansimesmo los franqueamos por dos años tan solamente.

ITEM: Prometemos que por término de diez años, e mas adelante hasta que otra cosa mandemos en contrario, no impornemos a los vecinos de las dichas tierras alcabalas ni otro tributo alguno.

ITEM: Concedemos a los dichos vecinos e pobladores que les sean dados por vos los solares y tierras convenientes a sus personas, conforme a lo que se ha hecho e hace en la dicha isla Española; e ansimismo os daremos poder para que en nuestro nombre, durante el tiempo de vuestra gobernacion, hagais la encomienda de los Indios de la dicha tierra, guardando en ella las instrucciones e ordenanzas que vos serán dadas.

ITEM: A suplicacion vuestra hacemos nuestro piloto mayor de la mar del Sur a Bartolomé Ruiz, con setenta y cinco mill maravedís de salario en cada un año, pagados de la renta de la dicha tierra, de los cuales ha de gozar desde el dia que le fuere entregado el título que de ello le mandaremos dar, e en las espaldas se asentará el juramento e solenidad que ha de hacer ante vos, e otorgado ante escribano. Asimismo daremos título de escribano de número e del consejo de la dicha ciudad de Tumbes, a un hijo de dicho Bartolomé Ruiz, siendo habil e suficiente para ello.

OTROSI: Somos contentos e nos place que vos el dicho capitan Pizarro, cuanto nuestra merced e voluntad fuere, tengais la gobernacion e administracion de los Indios de la nuestra isla de Flores, que es cerca de Panamá, e goceis para vos e para quien vos quisiéredes, de todos los aprovechamientos que hobiere en la dicha isla, asi de tierras como de solares, e montes, e árboles, e mineros, e pesquería de perlas, con tanto que seais obligado por razon de ello a dar a nos e a los nuestros oficiales de Castilla del Oro en cada un año de los que ansi fuere nuestra voluntad que vos la tengais, ducientos mill maravedís, e mas el quinto de todo el oro e perlas que en cualquier manera e por cualesquier personas se sacare en la dicha isla de Flores, sin descuento alguno, con tanto que los dichos Indios de la dicha isla de Flores no los podais ocupar en la pesquería de las perlas, ni en las minas del oro, ni en otros metales, sino en las otras granjerías e aprovechamientos de la dicha tierra, para provision e mantenimiento de la dicha vuestra armada, e de las que adelante obiéredes de hacer para la dicha tierra; e permitimos que si vos el dicho Francisco Pizarro llegado a Castilla del Oro, dentro de dos meses luego siguientes, declarades ante el dicho nuestro gobernador e juez de residencia que alli estuviere, que no vos querais encargar de la dicha isla de Flores, que en tal caso no seais tenudo e obligado a nos pagar por razon de ello las dichas ducientas mill maravedís, e que se quede para nos la dicha isla, como agora la tenemos.

ITEM: Acatando lo mucho que han servido en el dicho viaje e descubrimiento Bartolomé Ruiz, Cristoval de Peralta, e Pedro de Candiá, e Domingo de Soria Luce, e Nicolas de Ribera, e Francisco de Cuellar, e Alonso de Molina, e Pedro Alcon, e García de Jerez, e Anton de Carrion, e Alonso Briceño, e Martin de Paz, e Joan de la Torre, e porque vos me lo suplicásteis e pedistes por merced, es nuestra

merced e voluntad de les hacer merced, como por la presente vos la hacemos a los que de ellos no son idalgos, que sean idalgos notorios de solar conocido en aquellas partes, e que en ellas e en todas las nuestras Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar Océano, gocen de las preeminencias e libertades, e otras cosas de que gozan, y deben ser guardadas a los hijosdalgo notorios de solar conocido dentro nuestros reinos, e a los que de los susodichos son idalgos, que sean caballeros de espuelas doradas, dando primero la informacion que en tal caso se requiere.

Item: Vos hacemos merced de veinte y cinco veguas e otros tantos caballos de los que nos tenemos en la isla de Jamaica, e no las abiendo cuando las pidiéredes, no seamos tenudos al precio de ellas, ni de otra cosa por razon de ellas.

Otrosi: Os hacemos merced de trescientos mill maravedís pagados en Castilla del Oro para el artillería e municion que habeis de llevar a la dicha provincia del Perú, llevando fe de los nuestros oficiales de la casa de Sevilla de las cosas que ansi comprastes, e de lo que vos costó, contando el interese e cambio de ello, e mas os haré merced de otros ducientos ducados pagados en Castilla de Oro para ayuda al acarreto de la dicha artillería e municiones e otras cosas vuestras desde el Nombre de Dios so la dicha mar del Sur.

Otrosi: Vos daremos licencia, como por la presente vos la damos, para que destos nuestros reinos, e del reino de Portugal e islas de Cabo Verde, e dende, vos, e quien vuestro poder hubiere, quisiéredes e por bien tuviéredes, podais pasar e paseis a la dicha tierra de vuestra gobernacion cincuenta esclavos negros en que haya a lo menos el tercio de hembras, libres de todos derechos a nos pertenecientes, con tanto que si los dejáredes e parte de ellos en la isla Española, San Joan, Cuba, Santiago, e en Castilla del Oro, e en otra parte alguna los que de ellos ansi dejáredes, sean perdidos e aplicados, e por la presente los aplicamos a nuestra cámara e fisco.

Otrosi: Que hacemos merced y limosna al hospital que se hiciese en la dicha tierra, para ayuda al remedio de los pobres que allá fueren, de cien mill maravedís librados en las penas aplicadas de la cámara de la dicha tierra. Ansimismo a vuestro pedimento e consentimiento de los primeros pobladores de la dicha tierra, decimos que haremos merced, como por la presente la hacemos, á los hospitales de la dicha tierra de los derechos de la escubilla e relaves que hubiere en las fundiciones que en ella se hicieren, e de ello mandaremos dar nuestra provision en forma.

Otrosi: Decimos que mandaremos, e por la presente mandamos, que hayan e residan en la ciudad de Panamá, e donde vos fuere mandado, un carpintero e un calafate, e cada uno de ellos tenga de salario treinta mill maravedís en cada un año dende que comenzaren a residir en la dicha ciudad, o donde, como dicho es, vos les mandáredes; a los cuales les mandaremos pagar por los nuestros oficiales de la dicha tierra de vuestra gobernacion cuando nuestra merced y voluntad fuere.

ITEM: Que vos mandaremos dar nuestra provision en forma para que en la dicha costa del mar del Sur podais tomar cualesquier navíos que hubiéredes menester, de consentimiento de sus dueños; para los viajes que hobiéredes de hacer a la dicha tierra, pagando a los dueños de los tales navios el flete que justo sea, no embargante que otras personas los tengan fletados para otras partes.

Ansimismo que mandaremos, e por la presente mandamos e defendemos, que destos nuestros reinos no vayan ni pasen a las dichas tierras ningunas personas de las prohibidas que no puedan pasar a aquellas partes, so las penas contenidas en las leyes e ordenanzas e cartas nuestras, que cerca de esto por nos e por los reyes católicos están dadas; ni letrados ni procuradores para usar de sus oficios.

Lo cual que dicho es, e cada cosa e parte de ello vos concedemos, con tanto que vos el dicho capitan Pizarro seais tenudo e obligado de salir destos nuestros reinos con los navíos e aparejos e mantenimientos e otras cosas que fueren menester para el dicho viaje y poblacion, con ducientos e cincuenta hombres, los ciento y cincuenta destos nuestros reinos e otras partes no prohibidas, e los ciento restantes podais llevar de las islas e tierra firme del mar Océano, con tanto que de la dicha tierra firme llamada Castilla del Oro no saqueis mas de veinte hombres, sino fuere de los que en el primero e segundo viaje que vos hicísteis a la dicha tierra del Perú se hallaron con vos, porque a estos damos licencia que puedan ir con vos libremente; lo cual hayais de cumplir desde el dia de la data de esta hasta seis meses primeros siguientes: allegado a la dicha Castilla del Oro, e allegado a Panamá, seais tenudo de proseguir el dicho viaje, e hacer el dicho descubrimiento e poblacion dentro de otros seis meses luego siguientes.

ITEM: Con condicion que cuando saliéredes destos nuestros reinos e llegáredes a las dichas provincias del Perú, hayais de llevar y tener con vos a los oficiales de nuestra hacienda que por nos estan e fueren nombrados; e asimismo las personas religiosas o eclesiásticas que por nos serán señaladas para instruccion de los Indios e naturales de aquella provincia a nuestra santa fé Católica, con cuyo parecer e no sin ellos habeis de hacer la conquista, descubrimiento, e poblacion de la dicha tierra; a los cuales religiosos habeis de dar e pagar el flete e matalotaje, e los otros mantenimientos necesarios conforme a sus personas, todo a vuestra costa, sin por ello les llevar cosa alguna durante la dicha navegacion, lo cual mucho vos lo encargamos que ansi hagais e cumplais, como cosa de servicio de Dios e nuestro, porque de lo contrario nos teníamos de vos por deservidos.

OTROSI: Con condicion que en la dicha pacificacion, conquista, y poblacion e tratamiento de los dichos Indios en sus personas y bienes, seais tenudos e obligados de guardar en todo e por todo lo contenido en las ordenanzas e instrucciones que para esto tenemos fechas, e se hicieren, e vos seran dadas en la nuestra carta e provision que vos mandaremos dar para la encomienda de los dichos Indios. E cumpliendo vos el dicho capitan Francisco Pizarro lo contenido en este asiento, en todo lo que a vos toca e incumbe de guardar e cumplir,

prometemos, é vos aseguramos por nuestra palabra real, que agora e de aqui adelante vos mandaremos guardar e vos será guardado todo lo que assi vos concedemos, e facemos merced, a vos e a los pobladores é tratantes en la dicha tierra; e para ejecucion y cumplimiento dello, vos mandaremos dar nuestras cartas e provisiones particulares que convengan é menester sean, obligándoos vos el dicho capitan Pizarro primeramente ante escribano público de guardar e cumplir lo contenido en este asiento que a vos toca como dicho es. Fecha en Toledo a 26 de Jullio de 1529 años.—YO LA REINA.—Por mandado de S. M.—Juan Vazquez.

No. VIII.—See vol. i. p. 380.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF ATAHUALLPA'S SEIZURE.

[As the seizure of the Inca was one of the most memorable, as well as foulest, transactions of the Conquest, I have thought it might be well to put on record the testimony, fortunately in my possession, of several of the parties present on the occasion.]

Relacion del Primer Descubrimiento de la Costa y Mar del Sur, MS.

A la hora de las cuatro comienzan á caminar por su calzada adelante derecho á donde nosotros estabamos, y á las cinco ó poco mas llegó á la puerta de la ciudad, quedando todos los campos cubiertos de gente, y asi comenzaron á entrar por la plaza hasta trescientos hombres como mozos despuelas con sus arcos y flechas en las manos, cantando un cantar no nada gracioso para los que lo oyamos, antes espantoso porque parecia cosa infernal, y dieron una vuelta á aquella mezquita amagando al suelo con las manos á limpiar lo que por el estaba, de lo cual habia poca necesidad, porque los del pueblo le tenian bien barrido para cuando entrase. Acabada de dar su vuelta pararon todos juntos, y entró otro escuadron de hasta mil hombres con picas sin yerros tostadas las puntas, todos de una librea de colores, digo que la de los primeros era blanca y colorada, como las casas de un axedrez. Entrado el segundo escuadron entró el tercero de otra librea, todos con martillos en las manos de cobre y plata, que es una arma que ellos tienen; y ansi desta manera entraron en la dicha plaza muchos señores principales, que venian en medio de los delanteros y de la persona de Atabalipa. Detras destos, en una litera muy rica, los cabos de los maderos cubiertos de plata, venia la persona de Atabalipa, la cual traian ochenta señores en hombros, todos vestidos de una librea azul muy rica, y él vestido su persona muy ricamente,

con su corona en la cabeza, y al cuello un collar de esmeraldas grandes, y sentado en la litera en una silla muy pequeña con un coxin muy rico. En llegando al medio de la plaza paró, llevando descubierto el medio cuerpo de fuera; y todo la gente de guerra que estaba en la plaza le tenian en medio, estando dentro hasta seis ó siete mil hombres. Como el vió que ninguna persona salia á el ni parecia, tubo creido, y asi lo confesó el despues de preso, que nos habiamos escondido de miedo de ver su poder; y dió una voz y dixo, "Donde estan estos?" A la cual salio del aposento del dicho Gobernador Pizarro el Padre Fray Vicente de Valverde, de la orden de los Predicadores, que despues fué obispo de aquella tierra, con la bribia en la mano y con él una lengua, y asi juntos llegaron por entre la gente á poder hablar con Atabalipa, al cual le comenzó á decir cosas de la sagrada escriptura, y que nuestro Señor Jesu-Christo mandaba que entre los suyos no hubiese guerra ni discordia, sino todo paz, y que él en su nombre ansi se lo pedia y requeria; pues habia quedado de tratar della el dia antes, y de venir solo sin gente de guerra. A las cuales palabras y otras muchas que el Frayle le dixo, el estubo callando sin volver respuesta; y tornandole á decir que mirase lo que Dios mandaba, lo cual estaba en aquel libro que llevaba en la mano escripto, admirandose á mi parecer mas de la escriptura, que de lo escripto en ella: le pidió el libro, y le abrió y ojeó, mirando el molde y la orden dél; y despues de visto, le arrojó por entre la gente con mucha ira, el rostro muy encarnizado, diciendo, "Decildes á esos que vengan acá, que no pasaré de aqui hasta que me dén cuenta y satisfagan y paguen lo que han hecho en la tierra." Visto esto por el Frayle y lo poco que aprovechaban sus palabras, tomó su libro, y abajó su cabeza, y fuese para donde estaba el dicho Pizarro, casi corriendo, y dijole, "No veis lo que pasa? para que estais en comedimientos y requerimientos con este perro lleno de soberbia, que vienen los campos llenos de Indios? Salid á el! Que yo os absuelvo." Y ansi acabadas de decir estas palabras, que fué todo en un instante, tocan las trompetas, y parte de su posada con toda la gente de pie que con él estaba, diciendo, "Santiago á ellos!" y asi salimos todos á aquella voz á una, porque todas aquellas casas que salian á la plaza tenian muchas puertas, y parêce que se habian fecho á aquel proposito. En arremetiendo los de caballo y rompiendo por ellos todo fué uno, que sin matar sino solo un negro de nuestra parte, fueron todos desbaratados y Atabalipa preso, y la gente puesta en huida, aunque no pudieron huir del tropel, porque la puerta por dó habian entrado era pequeña, y con la turbacion no podian salir; y visto los traseros cuan lejos tenian la acoxida y remedio de huir, arrimaronse dos ó tres mil dellos á un lienso de pared, y dieron con él á tierra, el cual salia al campo, porque por aquella parte no habia casas, y ansi tubieron camino ancho para huir; y los escuadrones de gente que habian quedado en el campo sin entrar en el pueblo, como vieron huir y dar alaridos, los mas dellos fueron desbaratados y se pusieron en huida, que era cosa harto de ver, que un valle de cuatro ó cinco leguas todo iba cuaxado de gente. En este

vino la noche muy presto, y la gente se recogió, y Atabalipa se puso en una casa de piedra, que era el templo del sol, y asi se pasó aquella noche con grand regocijo y plaser de la vitoria que nuestro Señor nos habia dado, poniendo mucho recabdo en hacer guardia á la persona de Atabalipa, para que no volviesen á tomarnosle. Cierto fué permision de Dios y grand acertamiento guiado por su mano, porque si este dia no se prendiera, con la soberbia que trahia, aquella noche fueramos todos asolados por ser tan pocos, como tengo dicho, y ellos tantos.

Pedro Pizarro, Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reynos del Peru, MS.

Pues despues de aver comido, que acavaria á hora de missa mayor, enpeço á levantar su gente y á venirse hazia Caxamalca. Hechos sus esquadrones, que cubrian los campos, y el metido en vnas ándas enpeço á caminar, viniendo delante del dos mil Yndios que le barrian el camino por donde venia caminando, y la gente de guerra la mitad de vn lado y la mitad de otro por los campos sin entrar en camino. Traia ansi mesmo al señor de Chincha consigo en vnas andas, que parescia á los suyos cossa de admiracion, porque ningun Yndio, por señor principal que fuese, avia de parescer delante del sino fuese con vna carga á cuestas y descalzo: pues hera tanta la pateneria que traian d' oro y plata, que hera cossa estraña, lo que reluzia con el sol. Venian ansi mesmo delante de Atabalipa muchos Yndios cantando y danzando. Tardose ste señor en ándar esta media legua que ay dende los baños á donde el estava hasta Caxamalca, dende ora de missa mayor, como digo, hasta tres oras antes que anochesciese. Pues llegada la gente á la puerta de la plaza, enpeçaron á entrar los esquadrones con grandes cantares, y ansi entrando ocuparon toda la plaza por todas partes. Visto el Marquez Don Francisco Piçarro que Atabalipa venia ya junto á la plaza, embio al Padre Fr. Vicente de Balverde, primero Obispo del Cuzco, y á Hernando de Aldana, vn buen soldado, y á Don Martinillo lengua, que fuesen á hablar á Atabalipa, y á requerille de parte de Dios y del Rey se subjetase á la ley de nuestro Señor Jesu-Cristo y al servicio de S. Mag., y que el Marquez le tendria en lugar de hermano, y no consintiria le hiziesen enojo ni daño en su tierra. Pues llegado que fue el padre á las andas donde Atabalipa venia, le hablo y le dixo á lo que yva, y le predico cossas de nuestra sancta ffee, declarandoselas la lengua. Llevava el padre vn breviario en las manos, donde leya lo que le predicaba: el Atabalipa se lo pidio, y el cerrado se lo dio, y como le tuvo en las manos y no supo abrille arrojole al suelo. Llamo al Aldana que se llegase á el y le diese la espada; y el Aldana la saco y se la mostro, pero no se la quiso dar. Pues pasado lo dicho, el Atabalipa les dixo que se fuesen para vellacos ladrones, y que los avia de matar á todos. Pues oydo esto, el padre se bolvio y conto al Marquez lo que le avia pasado; y el Atabalipa entro en la plaza con todo su trono que traya,

y el señor de Chincha tras del. Desque ovieron entrado y vieron que no parescia Español ninguno, pregunto á sus capitanes, "Donde estan estos Cristianos, que no parescen?" Ellos le dixeron, "Señor, estan escondidos de miedo." Pues visto el Marquez Don Francisco Piçarro las dos andas, no conosciendo qual hera la de Atabalipa, mando á Joan Piçarro su hermano fuese con los peones que tenia á la vna, y el yria á la otra. Pues mandado esto, hizieron la seña al Candia, el qual solto el tiro, y en soltandolo tocaron las trompetas, y salieron los de acavallo de tropel, y el Marquez con los de á pie, como esta dicho, tras dellos, de manera que, con el estruendo del tiro y las trompetas y el tropel de los cavallos con los cascaveles, los Yndios se embararon y se cortaron. Los Españoles dieron en ellos y empeçaron á matar, y fue tanto el miedo que los Yndios ovieron, que por huir, no pudiendo salir por la puerta, derribaron vn lienzo de vna pared de la çerca de la plaza, de largo de mas de dos mil passos y de alto de mas de vn estado. Los de acavallo fueron en su seguimiento hasta los baños, donde hizieron grande estrago, y hizieran mas sino les anochesciera. Pues bolviendo á Don Francisco Piçarro y á su hermano, salieron, como estava dicho, con la gente de á pie: el Marquez fue á dar con las andas de Atabalipa, y el hermano con el señor de Chincha, al qual mataron alli en las andas; y lo mismo fuera del Atabalipa sino se hallara el Marquez alli, porque no podian derivalle de las andas, que aunque matavan los Yndios que las tenian, se metian luego otros de reffresco á sustentallas, y desta manera estuvieron vn gran rrato fforcejando y matando Indios, y de cansados vn Español tiro vna cuchillada para matalle, y el Marquez Don Francisco Piçarro se la rreparo, y del rreparo le hirio en la mano al Marquez el Español, queriendo dar al Atabalipa, á cuya caussa el Marquez dio bozes, diciendo, "Nadie hiera al Indio, so pena de la vida!" Entendido esto, aguijaron siete ó ocho Españoles y asieron de vn bordo de las andas, y haziendo fuerça las trastornaron á vn lado, y ansi fue preso el Atabalipa, y el Marquez le llevo á su aposento, y alli le puso guardas que le guardavan de dia y de noche. Pues venida la noche, los Españoles se recoxieron todos y dieron muchas gracias á nuestro Señor por las mercedes que les avia hecho, y muy contentos en tener presso al señor, porque á no prendelle no se ganara la tierra como se gano.

Carta de Hernando Pizarro, ap. Oviedo, Historia General de las Indias, MS., lib. xlvi. *cap.* xv.

Venia en unas handas, é delante de él hasta trecientos ó cuatrocientos Yndios, con camisetas de librea, limpiando las pajas del camino é cantando, é el en medio de la otra gente, que eran caciques é principales, é los mas principales caciques le traian en los hombros; é entrando en la plaza subieron doce ó quince Yndios en una fortaleza que alli estaba, é tomaronla á manera de posesion con vandera puesta en una lanza. Entrando hasta la mitad de la plaza reparó alli; é salió

un Fraile Dominico, que estaba con el Gobernador, á hablarle de su parte, que el Gobernador le esperaba en su aposento, que le fuesé á hablar; é dijole como era sacerdote, é que era embiado por el Emperador para que le enseñase las cosas de la fe si quisiesen ser Cristianos; é mostroles un libro que llevaba en las manos, é dijole que aquel libro era de las cosas de Dios; é el Atabaliva pidió el libro, e arrojole en el suelo é dijo, "Yo no pasaré de aqui hasta que me deis todo lo que habeis tomado en mi tierra, que yo bien se quien sois vosotros, y en lo que andais." E levantose en las andas, é habló á su gente, é obo murmullo entre ellos llamando á la gente que tenian las armas: é el fraile fué al Gobernador é dijole que que hacia, que ya no estaba la cosa en tiempo de esperar mas: el Gobernador me lo embió á decir: yo tenia concertado con el capitan de la artilleria, que haciendole una seña disparasen los tiros, é con la gente que oyendolos saliesen todos á un tiempo; é como asi se hizo, é como los Yndios estaban sin armas, fueron desbaratados sin peligro de ningun Cristiano. Los que traian las andas, é los caciques que venian al rededor del, nunca lo desampararon hasta que todos murieron al rededor del. El Gobernador salio é tomó á Atabaliva, é por defenderle le dió un Cristiano una cuchillada en una mano. La gente siguió el alcance hasta donde estaban los Yndios con armas; no se halló en ellos resistencia alguna, porque ya era noche. Recogieronse todos al pueblo, donde el Gobernador quedaba.

No. IX.—See vol. i. p. 415.

ACCOUNT OF THE PERSONAL HABITS OF ATAHUALLPA; EXTRACTED FROM THE MS. OF PEDRO PIZARRO.

[This minute account of the appearance and habits of the captive Inca is of the most authentic character, coming, as it does, from the pen of one who had the best opportunities of personal observation, during the monarch's imprisonment by his conquerors. Pizarro's MS. is among those recently given to the world by the learned academicians Salvá and Baranda.]

Este Atabalipa ya dicho hera Indio bien dispuesto, de buena persona, de medianas carnes, no grueso demasiado, hermosso de rostro, y grave en el, los ojos encarnizados, muy temido de los suyos. (Acuérdome que el señor de Guaylas le pidió licencia para yr á ver su tierra, y se la dió, dándole tiempo en que fuese y viniese limitado. Tardose algo mas, y cuando bolvio, estando yo presente, llegó con vn presente de fruta de la tierra, y llegado que fue á su presencia empeço

á temblar en tanta manera que no se podia tener en los pies. El Atabalipa alço la caveza vn poquito y sonrriendose le hizo seña que se ffuese.) Quando le sacaron á matar, toda la gente que avia en la plaza de los naturales, que avia harto, se prostraron por tierra, dexandose caer en el suelo como Borrachos. Este Indio se servia de sus mugeres por la horden que tengo ya dicha, sirviendole vna hermana diez dias ó ocho con mucha cantidad de hijas de senores que á estas hermanas servian, mudandose de ocho á ocho dias. Estas estavan siempre con el para serville, que Yndio no entrava dond' el estava. Tenia muchos caciques consigo: estos estavan afuera en vn patio, y en llamando alguno entrava descalzo y donde el estava; y si venia de fuera parte, avia de entrar descalzo y cargado con vna carga; y quando su capitan Challicuchima vino con Hernando Piçarro y le entro á ver, entro asi como digo con vna carga y descalzo y se hecho á sus pies, y llorando se los beso. El Atabalipa con rostro sereno le dixo, "Seas bien venido alli, Challicuchima;" queriendo dezir, "Seas bien venido, Challicuchima. Este Yndio se ponia en la caveza vnos llautos, que son vnas trenças hechas de lanas de colores, de grosor de medio dedo y de anchor de vno; hecho desto vna manera de corona y no con puntas, sino redonda, de anchor de vna mano, que encaxava en la caveza, y en la frente vna borla cossida en este llauto, de anchor de vna mano, poco mas, de lana muy ffina de grana, cortada muy ygual, metida por vnos cañutitos de oro muy sotilmente hasta la mitad: esta lana hera hilada, y de los cañutos abaxo destorcida, que hera lo que caya en la frente; que los cañutillos de oro hera quanto tomavan todo el llauto ya dicho. Cayale esta borla hasta encima de las cejas, de vn dedo de grosor, que le tomava toda la frente; y todos estos señores andavan tresquilados y los orejones como á sobre peine. Vestian ropa muy delgada y muy blanda ellos y sus hermanas que tenian por mugeres, y sus deudos, orejones principales, que se la davan los señores, y todos los demas vestian ropa basta. Poniase este señor la manta por encima de la caveça y atabasela debajo de la barva, tapandose las orejas: esto traia el por tapar vna oreja que tenia rompida, que quando le prendieron los de Guascar se la quebraron. Bestiase este señor ropas muy delicadas. Estando vn dia comiendo, questas señoras ya dichas le llevavan la comida y se la ponian delante en vnos juncos verdes muy delgados y pequeños. Estaba sentado este señor en vn duo de madera, de altor de poco mas de un palmo: este duo hera de madera colorada muy linda, y tenianle siempre tapado con vna manta muy delgada, aunque stuviese el sentado en el. Estos juncos ya dichos le tendian siempre delante quando queria comer, y alli le ponian todos los manjares en oro, plata, y barro, y el que á el apetescia señalava se lo truxesen, y tomandolo vna señora destas dichas se lo tenia en la mano mientras comia. Pues estando vn dia desta manera comiendo y yo presente, llevando vna tajada del manjar á la boca, le cayo vna gota en el vestido que tenia puesto, y dando de mano á la Yndia se levanto y se entro á su aposento á vestir otro vestido, y buelto saco vestido vna camiseta

y vna manta (pardo escuro). Llegandome yo pues á el le tente la manta, que hera mas blanda que seda, y dixele, " Ynga, de que es este vestido tan blando?" El me dixo, " Es de vnos pajaros que andan de noche en Puerto Viejo y en Tumbez, que muerden á los Indios. Venido á aclararse, dixo que hera de pelo de murcielagos. Diziendole, que de donde se podria juntar tanto murcielago? dixo, "Aquellos perros de Tumbez y Puerto Viejo que avian de bazer sino tomar destos para hazer ropa á mi padre?" Y es ansi questos murcielagos de aquellas partes muerden de noche á los Indios y á Españoles y á cavallos, y sacan tanta sangre ques cossa de misterio, y ansi se averiguo ser este vestido de lana de murcielagos, y ansi hera la color como dellos del vestido que en Puerto Viejo y en Tumbez y sus comarcas ay gran cantidad dellos. Pues acontescio vn dia que viniendose á quexar vn Indio que vn Español tomava vnos bestidos de Atabalipa, el Marquez me mando fuesse yo á saver quien hera y llamar al Español para castigallo. El Indio me llevo á vn buhio, donde avia gran cantidad de petacas, porquel Español ya hera ydo, diciendome que de alli avia tomado vn bestido del señor; é yo preguntandole que que tenian aquellas petacas, me mostro algunas en que tenian todo aquello que Atabalipa avia tocado con las manos, y avia estado de pies, y vestidos que el avia deshechado; en vnas los junquillos que le hechavan delante á los pies quando comia; en otras los guessos de las carnes ó aves que comia, que el avia tocado con las manos; en otras los maslos de las mazorcas de mahiz que avia tomado en sus manos; en otras las rropas que havia deshechado; finalmente todo aquello que el avia tocado. Preguntelee, que para que tenian aquello alli? Respondieronme, que para quemallo, porque cada año quemavan todo esto, porque lo que tocavan los señores que heran hijos del sol, se avia de quemar y hazer seniza y hechallo por el ayre, que nadie avia de tocar á ello. Y en guarda desto estava vn prencipal con Indios, que lo guardava y rrecoxia de las mugeres que les servian. Estos señores dormian en el suelo en vnos colchones grandes de algodon: tenian vnas ffrecadas grandes de lana con que se cubijaban: y no e visto en todo este Piru Indio semejante á este Atabalipa, ni de su ferocidad ni autoridad.

No. X.—See vol. i. p. 452.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF THE EXECUTION OF ATAHUALLPA.

[The following notices of the execution of the Inca are from the hands of eye-witnesses; for Oviedo, though not present himself, collected his particulars from those who were. I give the notices here

in the original, as the best authority for the account of this dismal tragedy.]

Pedro Pizarro, Descubrimiento y Conquista de los Reynos del Peru, MS.

Acordaron pues los officiales y Almagro que Atabalipa muriese, tratando entre si que muerto Atabalipa se acababa el auto hecho acerca del tesoro. Pues dixeron al Marquez Don Francisco Piçarro que no convenia que Atabalipa biviese; porque si se soltava, S. Mag. perderia la tierra y todos los Españoles serian muertos; y á la verdad, si esto no fuera tratado con malicia, como esta dicho, tenian razon, porque hera imposible soltandose poder ganar la tierra. Pues el Marquez no quiso venir en ello. Visto esto los oficiales hizieronle muchos rrequerimientos, poniendole el servicio de S. Mag. por delante. Pues estando asi atravesose vn demonio de vna lengua, que se dezia Ffelipillo, vno de los muchachos que el Marquez avia llevado á España, que al presente hera lengua, y andava enamorado de vna muger de Atabalipa, y por avella hizo entender al Marquez que Atabalipa hazia gran junta de gente para matar los Españoles en Caxas. Pues sabido el Marquez esto prendio á Challicuchima que estava suelto y preguntandole por esta gente que dezia la lengua se juntavan, aunque negava y dezia que no, el Ffelipillo dezia á la contra trastornando las palabras dezian á quien se preguntava este casso. Pues el Marquez Don Francisco Piçarro acordo embiar á Sotó á Caxas á saver si se hazia alli alguna junta de gente, porque cierto el Marquez no quisiera matalle. Pues visto Almagro y los oficiales la yda de Soto apretaron al Marquez con muchos rrequirimientos, y la lengua por su parte que ayudava con sus rretruecos, vinieron á convencer al Marquez que muriese Atabalipa, porque el Marquez hera muy zeloso del servicio de S. Mag., y ansi le hizieron temer, y contra su voluntad sentencio á muerte á Atabalipa mandando le diesen garrote, y despues de muerto le quemasen porque tenia las hermanas por mugeres. Cierto pocas leyes avian leido estos señores ni entendido, pues al infiel sin aver sido predicado le davan esta sentencia. Pues el Atabalipa llorava y dezia que no le matasen, que no abria Yndio en la tierra que se meneasse sin su mandado, y que presso le tenian, que de que temian? y que si lo avian por oro y plata, que el daria dos tanto de lo que avia mandado. Yo vide llorar al Marques de pesar por no podelle dar la vida, porque cierto temio los requirimientos y el rriezgo que avia en la tierra si se soltava. Este Atabalipa avia hecho entender á sus mugeres é Yndios que si no le quemavan el cuerpo, aunque le matassen avia de bolver á ellos, que el sol su padre le rresucitaria. Pues sacandole á dar garrote á la plaza, el Padre Fray Vicente de Balverde ya dicho le predico diziendole se tornase Cristiano: y el dixo que si el se tornava Christiano, si le quemarian, y dixeronle que no: y dixo que pues no le avian de quemar que queria ser baptizado, y ansi Fray Vicente le baptizo y le dieron garrote, y otro dia le enterraron en la yglesia que en Caxamalca

teniamos los Españoles. Esto se hizo antes que Soto bolviese á dar aviso de lo que le hera mandado; y quando vino truxo por nueva no aver visto nada ni aver nada, de que al Marquez le peso mucho de avelle muerto, y al Soto mucho mas, porque dezia el, y tenia rrazon, que mejor ffuera embialle á España, y que el se obligara á ponello en la mar: y cierto esto fuera lo mejor que con este Indio se pudiera hazer, porque quedar en la tierra no convenia. Tambien se entendio que no biviera muchos dias, aunque le embiara, porque el hera muy regalado y muy señor.

Relacion del Primer Descubrimiento de la Costa y Mar del Sur, MS.

Dando forma como se llevaria Atabalipa de camino, y que guardia se le pondria, y consultando y tratando si seriamos parte para defenderle en aquellos pasos malos y rios si nos le quisiesen tomar los suyos. Comenzóse á decir y á certificar entre los Indios, que el mandaba venir grand multitud de gente sobre nosotros: esta nueva se fué encendiendo tanto, que se tomó informacion de muchos señores de la tierra, que todos á una dijeron que era verdad, que el mandaba venir sobre nosotros para que le salvasen, y nos matasen si pudiesen, y que estaba toda la gente en cierta provincia ayuntada que ya venia de camino. Tomada esta informacion, juntarónse el dicho Gobernador, y Almagro, y los oficiales de S. Mag., no estando ahi Hernando Pizarro, porque ya era partido para España con alguna parte del quinto de S. Mag. y á darle noticia y nueva de lo acaecido; y resumieronse, aunque contra voluntad del dicho Gobernador, que nunca estubo bien en ello, que Atabalipa, pues quebrantaba la paz, y queria hacer traicion y traher gentes para matar los Cristianos, muriese, porque con su muerte cesaria todo, y se allanaria la tierra: á lo cual hubo contrarios pareceres, y la mas de la gente se puso en defender que no muriese; al cabo insistiendo mucho en su muerte el dicho Capitan Almagro, y dando muchas razones por qué debia morir, el fué muerto, aunque para él no fué muerte, sino vida, porque murió Cristiano, y es de creer que se fué al cielo. Publicado por toda la tierra su muerte, la gente comun y de pueblos venian donde el dicho Gobernador estaba á dar la obediencia á S. Mag.; pero los capitanes y gente de guerra que estaban en Xauxa y en el Cuzco, antes se rehicieron, y no quisieron venir de paz. Aqui acaeció la cosa mas estraña que se ha visto en el mundo, que yo vi por mis ojos, y fué; que estando en la iglesia cantando los oficios de difuntos á Atabalipa, presente el cuerpo, llegaron ciertas señoras hermanas y mugeres suyas, y otros privados con grand estruendo, tal que impidieron el oficio, y dijeron que les hiciesen aquella fiesta muy mayor, porque era costumbre, cuando el grand señor moria, que todos aquellos que bien le querian se enterrasen vivos con el: á los cuales se les respondio, que Atabalipa habia muerto como Cristiano, y como tal le hacian aquel oficio, que no se habia de hacer lo que ellos pedian, que era muy mal hecho y contra Cristianidad; que se fuesen de alli, y no les estorbasen, y se le dejasen enterrar, y ansi se fueron á sus apo-

sentos, y se ahorcaron todos ellos y ellos. Las cosas que pasaron en estos dias, y los extremos y llantos de la gente, son muy largas y prolijas, y por eso no se dirán aqui.

Oviedo, Historia General de las Indias, MS., lib. xlvi. *cap.* xxii.

Cuando el Marques Don Francisco Pizarro tubo preso al gran Rey Atabaliva le aconsejaron hombres faltos de buen entendimiento, que le matase, ó el obo gana, porque como se vieron cargados de oro parecioles que muerto aquel señor lo podian poner mas á su salvo en España donde quisiesen, é dejando la tierra, y que asimismo serian mas parte para se sustener en ella sin aquel escrupuloso impedimento, que no conservandose la vida de un principe tan grande, é tan temido é acatado de sus naturales, y en todas aquellas partes; é la esperiencia ha mostrado cuan mal acordado é peor fecho fue todo lo que contra Atabaliva se hizo despues de su prision en le quitar la vida, con la cual demas de deservirse Dios quitaron al Emperador nuestro señor, é á los mismos Españoles que en aquellas partes se hallaron, y á los que en España quedaron, que entonces vivian y á los que aora viven é nacerán innumerables tesoros, que aquel principe les diera; é ninguno de sus vasallos se mobiera ni alterara como se alteraron é revelaron en faltando su persona. Notorio es que el Gobernador le aseguró la vida, y sin que le diese tal seguro el se le tenia, pues ningun capitan puede disponer sin licencia de su Rey y señor de la persona del principe que tiene preso, cuyo es de derecho, cuanto mas que Atabaliva dijo al Marques, que si algun Cristiano matasen los Yndios, ó le hiciesen el menor daño del mundo, que creyese que por su mandado lo hacia, y que cuando eso fuese le matase ó hiciese del lo que quisiese; é que tratandole bien él le chaparia las paredes de plata, é le allanaria las sierras é los montes, é le dariá á el, é á los Cristianos cuanto oro quisiesen, é que desto no tubiese duda alguna; y en pago de sus ofrecimientos encendidas pajas se las ponian en los pies ardiendo, porque digese que traicion era la que tenia ordenada contra los Cristianos, é inventando é fabricando contra el falsedades, le levantaron que los queria matar, é todo aquello fue rodeado por malos e por la inadvertencia é mal consejo del Gobernador, é comenzaron á le hacer proceso mal compuesto y peor escrito, seyendo uno de los adalides, un inquieto, desasosegado, é deshonesto clerigo, y un escribano falto de conciencia é de mala habilidad, y otros tales que en la maldad concurrieron é asi mal fundado el libelo se concluyo á sabor de dañados paladares, como se dijo en el capitulo catorce, no acordandose que les habian enchido las casas de oro é plata, é le habian tomado sus mugeres é repartidolas en su presencia é usaban de ellas en sus adulterios, é en lo que les placia á aquellos aquien las dieron; y como les pareció á los culpados que tales ofensas no eran de olvidar, é que merecian que el Atabaliva les diese la recompensa como sus obras eran, asentoselés en el animo un temor é enemistad con él entrañable; é por salir de tal cuidado é sospecha le ordenaron la muerte por aquello

que él no hizo ni pensó; y de ver aquesto algunos Españoles comedidos aquien pesaba que tan grande deservicio se hiciese á Dios y al Emperador nuestro señor; y aunque tan grande ingratitud se perpetraba, é tan señalada maldad se cometia, como matar á un principe tan grande sin culpa. E viendo que le traian á colacion sus delitos é crueldades pasadas, que el habia usado entre sus Yndios y enemigos en el tiempo pasado, de lo cual ninguno era juez, sino Dios; queriendo saber la verdad, é por excusar tan notorios daños como se esperaban que habian de proceder matando aquel señor, se ofrecieron cinco hidalgos de ir en persona á saber y ver si venia aquella gente de guerra que los falsos inventores é sus mentirosas espias publicaban, á dar en los Cristianos; en fin el Gobernador (que tambien se puede creer que era engañado) lo obo por bien; é fueron el Capitan Hernando de Soto, el Capitan Rodrigo Orgaiz, é Pedro Ortiz, é Miguel de Estete, é Lope Velez á ver esos enemigos que decian que venian; é el Gobernador les dió una guia ó espia, que decia que sabia donde estaban; é á dos dias de camino se despeño la guia de un risco, que lo supo muy bien hacer el Diablo para que el daño fuese mayor; pero aquellos cinco de caballo que he dicho pasaron adelante hasta que llegaron al lugar donde se decian que habian de hallar el egercito contrario, é no hallaron hombre de guerra, ni con armas algunas, sino todos de paz; é aunque no iban sino esos pocos Cristianos que es dicho, les hicieron mucha fiesta por donde andubieron, é les dieron todo lo que les pidieron de lo que tenian para ellos é sus criados, é Yndios de servicio que llevaban; por manera que viendo que era burla, é muy notoria mentira é falsedad palpable, se tornaron á Cajamalca donde el Gobernador estaba, el cual ya habia fecho morir al Principe Atabaliva, se que la historia lo ha contado; é como llegaron al Gobernador hallaronle mostrando mucho sentimiento con un gran sombrero de fieltro puesto en la cabeza por luto é muy calado sobre los ojos, é le digeron, "Señor, muy mal lo ha fecho V. S^a^, y fuera justo que fueramos atendidos, para que supierades que es muy gran traicion la que se le levantó á Atabaliva, porque ningun hombre de guerra hay en el campo, ni le hallamos, sino todo de paz, é muy buen tratamiento que no se nos hizo en todo lo que habemos andado." El Gobernador respondió é les dijo, "Ya veo que me han engañado." Desde á pocos dias sabida esta verdad, é murmurandose de la crueldad que con aquel principe se usó, vinieron á malas palabras el Gobernador y Fray Vicente de Valverde, y el tesorero Riquelme, é á cada uno de ellos decia que el otro lo habia fecho, é se desmintieron unos á otros muchas veces, oyendo muchos su rencilla.

No. XI.—See vol. ii. p. 32.

CONTRACT BETWEEN PIZARRO AND ALMAGRO, MS.; DATED AT CUZCO, JUNE 12, 1535.

[This agreement between these two celebrated captains, in which they bind themselves by solemn oaths to the observance of what would seem to be required by the most common principles of honesty and honour, is too characteristic of the men and the times to be omitted. The original exists in the archives at Simancas.]

Nos Dⁿ Francisco Pizarro, Adelantado, Capitan General, y Governador por S. M. en estos reynos de la Nueva Castilla, é Dⁿ Diego de Almagro, asimismo Governador por S. M. en la provincia de Toledo, decimos: que por que mediante la intima amistad y compañia que entre nosotros con tanto amor ha permanecido, y queriendolo Dios nuestro Señor hacer, ha sido parte y cabsa que el Emperador é Rey nuestro señor haya recevido señalados servicios con la conquista, sujecion, é poblacion destas provincias y tierras, é atrayendo á la conversion y camino de nuestra santa fee Catolica tanta muchedumbre de infieles, é confiando S. M. que durante nuestra amistad y compañia su real patrimonio sera acrecentado, é asi por tener este intento como por los servicios pasados, S. M. Catolica tubo por bien de conceder á mi el dicho Dⁿ Francisco Pizarro la governacion de estos nuebos reynos, y á mi el dicho Dⁿ Diego de Almagro la governacion de la provincia de Toledo, de las quales mercedes que de su real liberalidad hemos recevido, resulta tan nueba obligacion, que perpetuamente nuestras vidas y patrimonios, y de los que de nos decendieren en su real servicio, se gasten y consuman; y para que esto mas seguro y mejor efecto haya, y la confianza de S. M. por nuestra parte no fallezca, renunciando la ley que cerca de los tales juramentos dispone, prometemos é juramos, en presencia de Dios nuestro Señor, ante cuyo acatamiento estamos, de guardar y cumplir bien y enteramente, y sin cabtela ni otro entendimiento alguno, lo espresado y contenido en los capitulos siguientes; é suplicamos á su infinita bondad, que á qualquier de nos que fuere en contrario de lo asi convenido, con todo rigor de justicia permita la perdicion de su anima, fin y mal acavamiento de su vida, destruicion y perdimiento de su familia, honrras, y hacienda, porque como quebrantador de su fee, la qual el uno al otro y el otro nos damos, y no temerosos de su acatamiento, reciva del tal justa venganza. Y lo que por parte de cada uno de nosotros juramos y prometemos es lo siguiente:—

Primeramente, que nuestra amistad é compañia se conserve mantenga para en adelante con aquel amor y voluntad que hasta el dia presente entre nosotros ha habido, no la alterando ni quebrantando por algunos intereses, cobdicias, ni ambicion de qualesquiera honrras é

oficios, sino que hermanablemente entre nosotros se comunique é seamos parcioneros en todo el bien que Dios nuestro Señor nos quiera hacer.

Otrós: Decimos, so cargo del juramento é promesa que hacemos, que ninguno de nosotros calumniara ni procurara cosa alguna que en daño ó menos cabo de su honrra, vida, y hacienda al otro pueda subceder ni venir, ni dello sera cabsa por vias directas ni indirectas por si propio ni por otra persona tacita ni espresamente cabsandolo ni permitiendolo, antes procurará todo bien y honrra y trabajará de se lo llegar y adquirir, y evitando todas perdidas y daños que se le puedan recrecer, no siendo de la otra parte avisado.

Otrosi: Juramos de mantener, guardar, y cumplir lo que entre nosotros esta capitulado, á lo qual al presente nos referimos, é que por via, causa, ni maña alguna ninguno de nosotros vernâ en contrario ni en quevrantamiento dello, ni hará diligencia, protestacion, ni reclamacion alguna, é que si alguna oviere fecha, se aparta ó desiste de ella é la renuncia so cargo del dicho juramento.

Otrosi: Juramos que juntamente ambos á dos, y no el uno sin el otro, informaremos y escriviremos á S. M. las cosas que segun nuestro parecer mejor á su real servicio convengan, suplicandole, informandole de todo aquello con que mas su Catolica conciencia se descargue, y estas provincias y reynos mas y mejor se conserven y goviernen, y que no habrá relacion particular por ninguno de nosotros hecha en fraude é cabtela y con intento de dañar y enpecer al otro, procurando para si, posponiendo el servicio de nuestro Señor Dios y de S. M., y en quebrantamiento de nuestra amistad y compañia, y asimismo no permitira que sea hecho por otra qualquier persona, dicho ni comunicado, ni lo permita ni consienta, sino que todo se haga manifiestamente entre ambos, porque se conozca mejor el celo que de servir á S. M. tenemos, pues de nuestra amistad é compañia tanta confianza ha mostrado.

Yten: Juramos que todos los provechos é intereses que se nos recrecieren asi de los que yo Dⁿ Francisco Pizarro oviere y adquiriere en esta governacion por qualquier vias y cabsas, como los otros que yo Dⁿ Diego de Almagro he de haber en la conquista y descubrimiento que en nombre y por mandado de S. M. hago, lo traeremos manifiestamente á monton y collacion, por manera que la compañia que en este caso tenemos hecha permanezca, y en ella no haya fraude, cabtela, ni engaño alguno, é que los gastos que por ambos é qualquier de nos se obieren de hacer se haga moderada y discretamente conforme, y proveyendo á la necesidad que se ofreciere, evitando lo escesivo y superfluo, socorriendo y proveyendo á lo necesario.

Todo lo qual segun en la forma que dicho esta, es nuestra voluntad de lo asi guardar y cumplir so cargo del juramento que asi tenemos fecho, poniendo á nuestro Señor Dios por juez y á su gloriosa Madre Santa Maria con todos los santos por testigos; y por que sea notorio á todos los que aqui juramos y prometemos, lo firmamos de nuestros nombres, siendo presentes por testigos el Licenciado Hernando Caldera, Teniente General de Governador en estos reynos por el dicho Señor Governador, é Francisco Pineda, capellan de su señoria, é An-

tonio Picado, su secretario, é Antonio Tellez de Guzman y el Doctor Diego de Loaisa; el qual dicho juramento fue fecho en la gran cibdad del Cuzco en la casa del dicho Governador Dⁿ Diego Dalmagro, estando diciendo misa el Padre Bartolome de Segovia, clerigo, despues de dicho el pater noster, poniendo los dichos Governadores las manos derechas encima del ara consagrada á 12 de Junio de 1535 años. — Francisco Pizarro.— El Adelantado Diego Dalmagro.— Testigos, el Licenciado Hernando Caldera—Antonio Tellez de Guzman.

Yo Antonio Picado, escrivano de S. M., doy fee que fui testigo y me halle presente al dicho juramento é solenidad fecho por los dichos Governadores, y yo saqué este traslado del original que queda en mi poder como secretario del Señor Governador Dⁿ Francisco Pizarro, en fee de lo qual firmé aqui nombre. Fecho en la gran Cibdad del Cuzco á 12 dias del mes de Julio de 1535 años.—Antonio Picado, escribano de S. M.

No. XII.—See vol. ii. p. 161.

LETTER FROM THE YOUNGER ALMAGRO TO THE ROYAL AUDIENCE OF PANAMÁ, MS.; DATED AT LOS REYES [LIMA], JULY 14, 1541.

[This document, coming from Almagro himself, is valuable as exhibiting the best apology for his conduct, and, with due allowance for the writer's position, the best account of his proceedings. The original—which was transcribed by Muñoz for his collection—is preserved in the archives at Simancas.]

Mui magnificos Señores,—Ya Vˢ Mrds. havran sabido el estado en que he estado despues que fué desta vida el Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro mi padre, que Dios tenga en el cielo, i como quedé debajo de la vara del Marqués Don Francisco Pizarro; i creo yo que pues son notorias las molestias i malos tratamientos que me hicieron, i la necesidad en que me tenian á vn rincon de mi casa, sin tener otro remedio sino el de S. M., á quien ocurri que me lo diese como señor agradecido, de quien yo lo esperava pagando los servicios tan grandes que mi padre le hizo de tan gran ganancia é acrecentamiento para su real corona, no hay necesidad de contarlas, i por eso no las contaré, i dejaré lo pasado i vendré á dar á Vˢ Mrds. cuenta de lo presente, é diré que aunque me llegava al alma verme tan afligido, acordandome del mandamiento que mi padre me dejó que amase el servicio de S. M. i questava en poder de mis enemigos; sufria mas de lo que mi juicio bastava, en especial ser cada dia quien á mi padre quitó la vida, i havian escurecido sus servicios por manera que dél ni de mi no havia memoria. I como la enemistad quel Marques me tenia é á todos mis amigos é criados fuese tan cruel i mortal, i sobre mi sucediese, quiso

efetualla, por la medida con que la usó con mi padre, estando siguro en mi casa, gimiendo mi necesidad, esperando el remedio i mercedes que de S. M. era razon que yo alcanzase, mui confiado de gozarlas, haciendo á S. M. servicios como yo lo deseo, fui informado quel Marques trataba mi prendimiento i fin, determinado que no quedase en el mundo quien la muerte de mi padre le pidiese, y acordandome que para darsela hallaron testigos á su voluntad, asi mismo los hallaron para mi, por manera que padre i hijo fueran por vn juicio juzgados. Por no dejar mi vida en alvedrio tan diabolico i desatinado, temiendo la muerte, determinado de morir defendiendo mi vida i honra, con los criados de mi padre i amigos, acordé de entrar en su casa i prenderle para escusar mayores daños, pues el juez de S. M. ya venia i á cada uno hiciera justicia; i el Marques, como persona culpada en la defensa de su prision é persona armada, para ello hizo tanto que por desdicha suya fué herido de vna herida de que murió luego, i puesto que como hijo de padre á quien el havia muerto lo podia recibir por venganza, me pesó tan estrañamente que todos conocieron en mi mui gran diferencia, i por ver que estava tan poderoso i acatado como era razon no hovo hombre viendolo en mitad del dia que echase mano á espada para ayuda suya ni despues hay hombre que por el responda: parece que se hizo por juicio de Dios i por su voluntad, porque mi deseo no era tan largo que se estendiese á mas de conservar mi vida en tanto aquel juez llegava. E como vi el hecho procuré antes que la cosa mas se encendiese en el pueblo, i que cesasen esecucion de prisiones de personas que ambas opiniones havian siguido, questaban afrontadas, i cesasen crueldades, é huviese justicia que lo estorvase é castigase, é se tomase cabeza que en nombre de S. M. hiciese justicia é governase la tierra. Pareciendo á la republica é comunidad de su cibdad é oficiales de S. M. que por los servicios de mi padre é por haver él descubierto é ganado esta tierra me pertenecia mas justamente que á otro la governacion della, me pidieron por Governador, i dentro de dos horas consultado é negociado con el cabildo, fui recibido en amor i conformidad de toda la republica. Asi quedó todo en paz, i tan asentados i serenos los animos de todos, que no hovo mudanza, i todo está pacifico, i los pueblos en la misma conformidad i justicia que han estado, i con el ayuda de Dios se asentará cada dia la paz tan bien que de todos sea obedecida por señora, i S. M. será tambien servido como es razon, como se deve: porque acabadas son las opiniones é parcialidades, é yo é todos pretendemos la poblacion de la tierra i el descubrimiento della, porque los tiempos pasados que se han gastado tan mal con alborotos que se han ofrecido, é descuidos que ha habido, agora se ganen é se alcancen i cobren, i con este presupuesto esten Vs Mrcds. ciertos que está el Perú en sosiego, i que las riquezas se descubrirán é irán á poder de S. M. mas acrecentadas i multiplicadas que hasta aqui, ni havrá mas pasion ni movimiento sino toda quietud, amando el servicio de S. M. i su obidiencia, aprovechando sus reales rentas. Suplico á Vs Mrds., pues el caso parece que lo hizo Dios i no los hombres, ni yo lo quise asi como Dios lo hizo por su juicio

secreto, é como tengo dicho la tierra está sosegada, i todos en paz, Vª Mrds. por el presente manden suspender qualquiera novedad, pues la tierra se conservará como esta, é será S. M. mui servido; é despues que toda la gente que no tienen vecindades las tengan, é otros vayan á poblar é descubrir, podrán proveer lo que conviniere, i es tiempo que la tierra Españoles i naturales no reciban mas alteracion, pues no pretenden sino sosiego i quietud, i poblar la tierra i servir á S. M., porque con este deseo todos estamos i estaremos, i de otra manera crean Vª Mrds. que de nuevo la tierra se rebuelve é inquieta, porque de las cosas pasadas vnos i otros han pretendido cada vno su fin, é sino descansan de los trabajos que han padecido con tantas persecuciones de buena ni de mala perdiendose no ternâ S. M. della cuenta, é los naturales se destruirían é no asentarán en sus casas é perecerán mas de los que han perecido; é conservar estos é conservar la tierra i los vecinos i moradores della todo es vno. I pues en tanta conformidad yo tengo la tierra é con voluntad de todos fui eligido por Governador, porque mas obidiencia haya é la justicia mas acatada sea, i entiendan que me han de acatar i obedecer en tanto que S. M. otra cosa manda, porque de lo pasado yo le embio aviso, suplico á Vª Mrds. manden despachar desa Audiencia Real vna cedula, para que todos me obedezcan i tengan por Governador, porque asi mas sosegados ternán todos los animos, i mas i mejor se hará el servicio de S. M., i ternâ mas paz la tierra, é confundirse han las voluntades que se quisieren levantar contra esto; é sino lo mandasen Vª Mrds. proveer en tanto que S. M. declara su real voluntad, podría ser que por parte de alguna gente que por acá nunca faltan mas amigos de pasiones que de razon, que se levantase algun escandalo de que Dios i S. M. fuesen mas deservidos. Nuestro Señor las mui magnificas personas de Vª Mrds. guarde tan prosperamente como desean. Destos Reyes á 14 de Julio de 1541 años. Beso las manos de Vª Mrds., Don Diego de Almagro.

No. XIII.—See vol. ii. p. 200.

LETTER FROM THE MUNICIPALITY OF AREQUIPA TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH, MS.; DATED AT SAN JUAN DE LA FRONTERA, SEPT. 24, 1542.

[The stout burghers of Arequipa gave efficient aid to the royal governor, in his contest with the younger Almagro; and their letter, signed by the municipality, forms one of the most authentic documents for a history of this civil war. The original is in the archives at Simáncas.]

S. C. C. M.—Aunque de otros muchos ternâ V. M. aviso de la vitoria que en ventura de V. M. i buena deligencia i animo del Go-

vernador Vaca de Castro se ovo del tirano Don Diego de Almagro é sus secazes, nosotros el cabildo i vecino de Arequipa le queremos tambien dar, porque como quien se halló en el peligro, podremos contar de la verdad como pasó.

Desde Xauxa hicimos relacion á V. M. de todo lo sucedido hasta entonses, i de los preparamientos quel Governador tenia proveidos para la guerra de alli. Salió con toda la gente en orden i se vino á esta cibdad de San Joan de la Frontera, donde tuvimos nuevas como el traidor de Don Diego de Almagro estava en la provincia de Bilcas, que es onze leguas desta cibdad, que venia determinado con su dañada intencion á darnos la batalla. En este comedio vino Lope Diaquez del real de los traidores, i dió al Governador una carta de Don Diego, i otra de doze capitanes, mui desvergonzados de fieros i amenazas; i el Governador, con zelo de que no oviese tantas muertes entre los vasallos de V. M. como siempre fué su intento de ganar el juego por maña, acordó de tornarles á enbiar al dicho Lope Ydiaquez i á Diego de Mercado Fator de la nueva Toledo, para ver si los podian reducir i atraer al servicio de V. M., i fueron tan mal rescibidos que quando escaparon con las vidas se tuvieron por bien librados. La respuesta que les dieron fué que no querian obedecer las provisiones reales de V. M. sino darle la batalla, i luego alzaron su real i caminaron para nosotros. Visto esto el Governador sacó su real deste pueblo i caminó contra ellos dos leguas, donde supo que los traidores estavan á tres, en un asiento fuerte i comodo para su artilleria. El governador acordó de los guardar alli, donde le tomó la voz, porque era llano i lugar fuerte al nuestro proposito. Como esto vieron los traidores, sabado que se contaron diez i seis de Setiembre, se levantaron de donde estavan, i caminaron por lo alto de la sierra i vinieron una legua de nosotros, i sus corredores vinieron á ver nuestro asiento. Luego el Governador provio que por una media loma fuese un capitan con cinquenta arcabuceros, i otro con cinquenta lanzas á tomar lo alto, i sucedió tambien que sin ningun riesgo se tomó, i luego todo el exercito de V. M. lo subió. Visto esto, los enemigos, que estarian tres quartos de legua, procuraron de buscar campo donde nos dar la batalla, i asi le tomaron á su proposito i asentaron su artilleria i concertaron sus esquadrones, que eran ducientos i treinta de cavallo, en que venian cinquenta hombres de armas: la infanteria eran ducientos arcabuzeros i ciento i cinquenta piqueros, todos tan lucidos é bien armados, que de Milan no pudieran salir mejor aderezados: el artilleria eran seis medias culebrinas de diez á doze pies de largo, que echavan de bateria una naranja: tenian mas otros seis tiros medianos todos de fruslera, tan bien aderezados i con tanta municion, que mas parecia artilleria de Ytalia que no de Yndias. El Governador vista su desverguenza, la gente mui en orden, despues de haver hecho los razonamientos que convenian, diciendonos que viesemos la desverguenza que los traidores tenian i el gran desacato á la corona real, caminó á ellos, i llegando á tiro donde su artilleria podia alcanzar, jugo luego en nosotros, que la nuestra por ser mui pequeña é ir cami-

nando, no nos podimos aprovechar della de ninguna cosa, i asi la dexamos por popa. Matarnos hian antes que llegasemos á romper con ellos mas de 30 hombres, i siempre con este daño que rescebiamos, caminamos hasta nos poner á tiro de arcabuz, donde de una parte i de otra jugaron i se hizo de a mas partes arto daño, i lo mas presto que nos fué posible porque su artilleria aun nos echava algunas pelotas en nuestros esquadrones, cerramos con ellos, donde duró la batalla de lanzas, porras, i espadas mas de una grande hora; fué tan reñida i porfiada, que despues de la de Rebena no se ha visto entre tan poca gente mas cruel batalla, donde hermanos á hermanos, ni deudos á deudos, ni amigos á amigos no se davan vida uno á otro. Finalmente como llevasemos la justicia de nuestra parte, nuestro Señor en ventura de V. M. nos dió vitoria, i en el denuedo con que acometió el Governador Baca de Castro el qual estava sobresaliente con treinta de cavallo, armado en blanco con una ropilla de brocado sobre las armas con su encomienda descubierta en los pechos, contra el qual estavan conjurados muchos de los traidores, pero él como cavallero se les mostró i defendió tan bien, que para hombre de su edad i profesion, estamos espantados de lo que hizo i trabajo, i como rompió con sus sobresalientes, luego desampararon el campo i conseguimos glorioso vitoria, la qual estuvo harto dudosa, porque si eramos en numero ciento mas que ellos, en escoger el campo i artilleria i hombres de armas i arcabuzes nos tenian doblada ventaja. Fué bien sangrienta de entramas partes, i si la noche no cerrara tan presto, V. M. quedara bien satisfecho destos traidores; pero lo que no se pudo entonses hacer, ahora el Governador lo hace, desquartizando cada dia á los que se escaparon. Murieron en la batalla de los nuestros el capitan Per Alvarez Holguin, i otros sesenta cavalleros i hidalgos; i están eridos de muerte Gomez de Tordoya i el Capitan Peranzures, i otros mas de ciento. De los traidores murieron ciento é cinquenta, i mas de otros tantos eridos; presos están mas de ciento i cinquenta. Don Diego i otros tres capitanes se escaparon. Cada ora se traen presos: esperamos que un dia se habrá Don Diego á las manos, porque los Yndios como villanos de Ytalia los matan i traen presos. V. M. tenga esta vitoria en gran servicio, porque puede creer que agora se acabó de ganar esta tierra i ponerla debaxo del cetro real de V. M., i que esta ha sido verdadera conquista i pacificacion della, i asi es justo que V. M. como gratisimo principe gratifique i haga mercedes á los que se la dieron; i al Governador Baca de Castro perpetuarle en ella en entramas governaciones no dividiendo nada dellas porque no hai otra batalla; i á los soldados i vecinos que en ella se hallaron, remunerarles sus trabajos i perdidas que han rescibido por reducir estos reinos á la corona real de V. M., i mandando castigar á los vecinos que oyendo la voz real de V. M. se quedaron en sus casas grangeando sus repartimientos i haciendas, porque gran sin justicia seria, sacra M., que bolviendo nosotros á nuestras casas pobres i mancos de guerra de mas de un año, hallasemos á los que se quedaron sanos i salvos i ricos, i que á ellos no se les diese pena ni á nosotros premio ni galardon, i

esto seria ocasion para que si otra vez oviese otra rebelion en esta tierra ó en otra, no acudiesen al servicio de V. M. como seria razon i somos obligados. Todos tenemos por cierto, quel Governador Baca de Castro lo hará asi, i que en nombre de V. M. á los que le han servido hará mercedes, i á los que no acudieron á servir á V. M. castigará. S. C. C. M. Dios todo poderoso acreciente la vida de V. M., dandole vitoria contra sus enemigos, porque sea acrescentada su santa fee, amen. De San Joan de la Frontera á 24 de Septiembre de 1542 años. — Besan las manos i pies de V. M. sus leales vasallos,—Hernando de Silva,—Pedro Piçarro,—Lucas Martinez,—Gomez de Leon,—Hernando de Torre,—Lope de Alarcon,—Juan de Arves,—Juan Flores, —Juan Ramirez,—Alonso Buelte,—Melchior de Cervantes,—Martin Lopez,—Juan Crespo,—Francisco Pinto,—Alonso Rodriguez Picado.

No. XIV.—See vol. ii. p. 393.

PROCESS CONTAINING THE SENTENCE OF DEATH PASSED ON GONZALO PIZARRO, AT XAQUIXAGUANA, APRIL 9, 1548.

[This instrument is taken from the original manuscript of Zarate's Chronicle, which is still preserved at Simancas. Muñoz has made several extracts from this MS., shewing that Zarate's history, in its printed form, underwent considerable alteration, both in regard to its facts, and the style of its execution. The printed copy is prepared with more consideration; various circumstances, too frankly detailed in the original, are suppressed; and the style and disposition of the work shew altogether a more fastidious and practised hand. These circumstances have led Muñoz to suppose that the Chronicle was submitted to the revision of some more experienced writer, before its publication; and a correspondence which the critic afterwards found in the Escurial, between Zarate and Florian d'Ocampo, leads to the inference that the latter historian did this kind office for the former. But whatever the published work may have gained as a literary composition, as a book of reference and authority it falls behind its predecessor, which seems to have come without much premeditation from the author, or, at least, without much calculation of consequences. Indeed, its obvious value for historical uses led Muñoz, in a note indorsed on the fragments, to intimate his purpose of copying the whole manuscript at some future time.]

Vista é entendida por nos el Mariscal Francisco de Albarado, maestre de campo deste real exercito, el Licenciado Andres de Cianca, oidor de S. M. destos reinos, é subdelegados por el mui ilus-

tre señor el Licenciado Pedro de la Gazca, del consejo de S. M. de la Santa Inquisicion, Presidente destos reinos é provincias del Perú, para lo infra escripto, la notoriedad de los muchos graves é atroces delitos que Gonzalo Pizarro ha cometido é consentido cometer á los que le han seguido, despues que á estos reinos ha venido el Visorrey Blasco Nuñez Vela, en deservicio é desacato de S. M. é de su preminencia é corona real, é contra la natural obligacion é fidelidad que como su vasallo tenia é devia á su Rei é señor natural, ó de personas particulares, los quales por ser tan notorios del dicho no se requiere orden ni tela de juicio, mayormente que muchos de los dichos delitos consta por confesion del dicho Gonzalo Pizarro é la notoriedad por la informacion que se ha tomado, é que combiene para la pacificacion destos reinos é exemplo con brevedad hacer justicia del dicho Gonzalo Pizarro.

Fallamos atento lo susodicho junta la dispusicion del derecho, que devemos declarar é declaramos el dicho Gonzalo Pizarro haver cometido crimen laesae majestatis contra la corona real despaña en todos los grados é causas en derecho contenidas despues que á estos reinos vino el Virrey Blasco Nuñez Vela, é asi le declaramos é condenamos al dicho Gonzalo Pizarro por traidor, é haver incurrido él ó sus descendientes nacidos despues quel cometió este dicho crimen é traicion los por linea masculina hasta la segunda generacion, é por la femenina hasta la primera, en la infamia é inabilidad é inabilidades, é como á tal condenamos al dicho Gonzalo Pizarro en pena de muerte natural, la qual le mandamos que sea dada en la forma siguiente: que sea sacado de la prision en questá cavallero en una mula de silla atados pies é manos, é traido publicamente por este real de S. M. con voz de pregonero que manifieste su delito, sea llevado al tablado que por nuestro mandado esta fecho en este real, é alli sea apeado é cortada la cabeza por el pescueso, é despues de muerta naturalmente, mandamos que la dicha cabeza sea llevada á la ciudad de Los Reyes como ciudad mas principal destos reinos, é sea puesta é clavada en el rollo de la dicha ciudad con un retulo de letra gruesa que diga, "Esta es la cabeza del traidor de Gonzalo Pizarro, que se hizo justicia del en el valle de Aquixaguan, donde dió la batalla campal contra el estandarte real, queriendo defender su traicion é tirania; ninguno sea osado de la quitar de aqui so pena de muerte natural." E mandamos que las casas quel dicho Pizarro tiene en la cibdad del Cuzco ..... sean derribadas por los cimientos é aradas de sal; é á donde agora es la puerta sea puesto un letrero en un pilar, que diga, "Estas casas eran de Gonzalo Pizarro, las quales fueron mandadas derrocar por traidor; é ninguna persona sea osado dellas tornar á hacer i edificar sin licencia expresa de S. M., so pena de muerte natural." E condenamosle mas en perdimiento de todos sus bienes, de qualquier calidad que sean é le pertenezcan, los quales aplicamos á la camara é fisco de S. M., é en todas las otras penas que contra los tales están instituidas. E por esta nuestra sentencia definitiva juzgamos é asi lo pronunciamos é mandamos en estos escritos é por ellos.—Alonso de Albarado; el Lic^do^ Cianca.

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